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مَا خَلَقْنَا ٱلسَّمَاوَاتِ وَٱلْأَرْضَ ... لَاعِبِينَ

A JESTING CREATOR?

The donkey with his

"...monstrous head and sickening cry,
And ears like errant wings,"

has often been a candidate in literature for nomination as the farce of creation. There might well be others, creatures with whom the creative fiat seems to have indulged a wry humour, as if practising a jesting fancy or pursuing some whim of playfulness. For these butts of our wit and our mirth, we may well be thankful: without them the sanity of the whole would be in greater danger. But when the conjecture of an origin in jest widens and deepens until it takes in the whole creative enterprise, it is despair, not humour, that we face. If everything is comic then there is nothing that is not grim and wretched. When Dante's great masterpiece came, decades after his death, to be dubbed the *Divine* Comedy, people meant essentially a story whose ultimate issue was beyond tragedy. It was not farce they were reading into human existence but wonder, tenderness, majesty and destiny. But suppose we take the word 'comedy' in its more popular, modern sense, denoting burlesque and idle jesting, and suppose we dub the whole business of life and the universe, in that sense, a Divine comedy, are we not in of all imaginable situations the most tragic?

The Qur'ān has anticipated the supposition, only to reject it most vehemently. The two passages concerned are almost wholly parallel. They differ only in that the one has 'Heaven' and the other 'the heavens.' Surahs xxi.16 and xliv.38 have God passionately declaring: "The Heaven and earth and all between, We made them not in jest!" The first passage goes

on to protest that "Had it been Our will to indulge in jest, We would have found it without involving man, had such been the sort of thing We do!" These verses are the Quranic form of our re-assurance in the most crucial of all issues of our human situation. If creation is an act of jesting, than blasphemy is an act of intelligence: if we can not be assured that God takes us and the world seriously there is no more any possibility of significance in "all the uses of this world."

In both its Biblical and Quranic senses, the doctrine of creation means primarily a Divine responsibility in and for our existence. It is much more than merely an account of origins, understood in an operative or scientific sense. It is an assertion of responsible will behind all that is. The world and the universe are not an accident of haphazardness: nor are they the outcome of some celestial perversity or a trifler's sinister, if yet magnificent, diversion. It is only in this confidence in the dependable reality of a Creator Who means what He means that we can undergird with significance all the areas of our being, be they scientific, moral, physical or spiritual. If the universe of our existence is some colossal joke, then our being, with apologies to Bishop Berkeley, is to be deceived, and there is no room left even for jesters. We can hardly sustain any significance unless we have significance for God. Life cannot be real if it is an arena for Divine frivolity.

Yet what vistas open up when we explore the positive side of this confidence, perhaps with the notable phrase of 1. Peter iv.19, "a faithful Creator," as our watchword. For the fidelity of God is our pledge that life and meaning are dependable and that we are not puppets in a farce. External nature is our first realm of confidence in His fidelity. We do not find there a fickleness that diverts itself at our expense. Rather we discover an empire of dependable law within which we move and wonder and control, in a context of order and of processes that are reliable and constant. It was Prometheus, slave of the Greek gods, who, chained to the

rock and denied the pursuit of his genius for science and control of elemental things, was tantalised and tormented by deities who found their sport in him. But man in the real world, man under the aegis of the living God, the God of hope, walks freely in the world of nature's wonders as they yield more and more to the empire of his curiosity. For the living God keeps faith with the vocation of His creature man, in whom He has set the image of Himself, and to whom in serious love He has delegated a responsible sovereignty. You are not deceived, God does not mock, when O homo sapiens, you assume an intelligible world with an unequivocal invitation to dominion under your hand.

But "be not deceived," God Who mocks not in His gifts and acts of hope and love, is Himself not mocked. (Gal. vi.7) "Whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap." The fidelities of the moral order are no less dependable than those of the scientific. The so-called laws of nature are fully counterparted by the laws of the Spirit. The grandeur of God and the dignity of man meet here at the same point. Triflers with God's gifts and purposes find themselves "wronging their own selves" as the Qur'ān has it, in a pregnant phrase. The entail of men's self-will is not to be eluded by wishing it away. We live in a world where love cannot be engendered by systems based on hatred, where the solutions of men's ills must be right solutions or the ills are intensified. "Satan does not cast out Satan." Since sin is real and abounds only an abounding grace can right us.

All these are the moral meanings of what we may call the earnestness of God. When we turn to old Al-Baiḍāwī on the passage in question, we find that he has laid hold on much of this. In his abrupt and characteristic way, he expresses it in the comment: "Rather We created them (the heavens and the earth) freighted with all kinds of wonders to arrest the attention of the beholder, and as a token to the intelligent, and as a means whereby the affairs of the servants of God may be ordered in this life and in the life to come. By dint

of these wonders they must attain to the perfect state and not be allured by the enticements of the world, for those pass quickly away." In reference to the next verse. لَوْ أَرَدْنَا أَنْ نَتَّخِذَ لَهْوًا he explains that *lahwan* means 'a pastime' but that also in the Arabic of the Yemen it means 'a child,' or even 'a wife' and that God's not 'taking' these (the verb *nattakhidh* is elsewhere used in the context of a denial that God 'takes' to Himself a 'son') is intended as a rebuttal of what the Christians say.

Let us leave aside this extraneous issue, with the misunderstanding behind it, and occupy ourselves rather with the underlying question posed by the famous exegete's assumption, so characteristically Islamic, that man can, as he puts it, "climb to the attainment of perfection." For here lies, as Christianity sees it, the most wonderful mystery of the Divine seriousness in creation and man. Nature, truly, sets a dependable arena for man's life and the integrity of the moral order holds. God neither mocks, nor is mocked, in His fidelity with man His creature and His caliph. But how sadly is the Creator's faith-keeping, both in nature and in law, ill-rewarded by man's self-will! The creature flouts the conditions of his own welfare and harnesses Nature's dependability to his own perversities, supposing to prosper in defiance of the moral order. Is this God's world or is there another prince or principle within it? (S. John xii.31) Our humanity has answered the Christ of God with a criminal's execution. What, then, is the reaction of a loving and persistent Creator Who keeps faith with His own creative ends?

It is a reaction which gives a whole new dimension to that Divine fidelity to a serious and invincible intention in creation. Faced with the Cross as the symbol and measure of our wrongness as creatures, we learn that it is in no idle complacence and serenity that the world is God's. It is, and remains, His, only by virtue of a Divine concern with sinful men that takes and bears and loves and saves. Such a concern Jesus both revealed and fulfilled in His revolutionary accomplish-

ing of Messiahship. A Creator Who jested would never have known the Cross at His heart. For there, at the place of our redemption, is the pattern of the Divine costliness of our significance to God.

> "My Lord tore the curtain from the skies and in compassion
> He took upon Himself all angry things,
> The scourge, the thorn, the nails, the utter separation;
> And spoke such words as made me tremble
> And laid His yoke upon me..."

The compassion of the Redeemer measures the purposefulness of the Creator.

May not we, in our turn, find a new dependability and worth-while-ness in our purposes under God, precisely because of the assurance of His initiating love that this is a real world? It is not only loss of purpose that afflicts our generation but of the heart conviction that this is a world with a purpose-ability for men. The fact that it should be so is a strange commentary on developments which have put into our hands the most unprecedented means with which to serve such purposes as we can find it in us to determine. Our very competences to be men of purpose have seemingly disqualified our capacity to believe in the feasibility of significant intentions.

How delightful that abandonment to the rule of vocation described in *Moby Dick*'s picture of the returning whaler: "And if, after a three, four or five years' voyage, she is drawing nigh home with anything empty in her, say an empty vial even, then, her mast heads are kept manned to the last, and not till her skysails' poles sail in among the spires of the port does she altogether relinquish the hope of catching one whale more."

This hope "that maketh not ashamed" is only "shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Spirit." Such a quality of warm pertinacity in our souls is only sustained in the confidence that this is God's world and that He takes us and it with that heavenly seriousness which is the stuff of all our joy and peace.

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[1] Quoted by permission from: Alan Paton, *Meditation for a Young Boy Confirmed,* London, S.P.C.K. 1958.

RADICAL-REFORM NATIONALISM IN SYRIA AND EGYPT I.

Several students of Middle Eastern affairs have attempted to delineate the major ideological trends in the area.[1] A composite of these presentations might be as follows: (a) *traditional Islamic* represented by the ulama; (b) *ijma-modernist* represented best by older nationalist parliamentarians and wealthy urban classes; (c) *secular-nationalist* best represented in higher civil servants, higher military officers, the more westernized and the non-Muslim minorities; (d) *romantic Islamic-nationalist* best represented by semi-westernized lower middle classes; (e) *fundamentalist-Islamic* whose views are found among the traditional middle class as well as some of the partially westernized lower middle class; (f) *communist*, a rather exceptional group drawing its adherents from the westernized and the minorities but by no means a widely popular tendency. It will readily be noticed that radical-reform nationalism is not included in this listing. It would most probably find its place in group (d) *romantic-Islamic-nationalism*; and it is all of these things and more. The present exposition intends to direct attention to this particular offshoot of Arab romanticism, [2] not because it is any more rational, nor even because its adherents are more numerous, but rather because it seems to be the ideology which currently represents the thinking of dominant groups in Syria and Egypt.

Most discussions of current Arab thought are careful to include a statement to the effect that subdivision into pure categories is the device of the analyst and not of the exponent, who tends to be somewhat eclectic in his presentation. While such statements are generally correct in so far as they refer to any single work, the present writer believes that close examination and reference to active political groups will show that it is really only the romantics who are incorrigibly eclectic, and the least well organized in pursuit of their own interests. Because it is a composite of all the rest, Arab romanticism is nowhere explicitly differentiated in writing, unless one settles for certain expressions of the apologetic movement. [3] Despite this difficulty it seems that romanticism best describes the attitude of most literate Arabs. The ability to read does not presuppose the ability to distinguish theoretical inconsistencies; particularly when such do not appear immediately in the form of a concrete political conflict. Moreover, in the absence of effectively and consistently oriented political organization, it is not surprising that the average literate Arab should nod approvingly at recitations of past Arab glory, lamentations on the decline of the

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[1] See "Problems of Islamic Political Thoughts in the Light of Recent Developments in Pakistan," *Journal of Politics*, November, 1958, by the present writer.

[2] For the use of the term romanticism, see H. A. R. Gibb, *Modern Trends in Islam*, Chicago, 1947, pp. 108 f.

[3] See W. C. Smith, *Islam in Modern History*, Princeton, 1957, p. 85 f.

Arabs, and diverse presentations of plausible diagnoses and remedies. Evidently, the average literate Arab believes that most of the diagnoses are correct and most of the remedies apt. Even if this attitude is not logical, it suggests the possible development of moderate (in terms of domestic politics) consensus. The importance of this possibility is enhanced by the fact that education and literacy have increased at a faster pace than economic development and industrialization. In the long run, the development lag may weaken the consensus, but political events may already be overtaking it. Theoretical niceties aside, should anyone succeed in expressing adequately the romantic attitude and effectively organizing a movement based on such an ideology, he would win a wide following.

While the apologetic movement offers the closest approximation to the romantic approach, it no longer answers the intellectual needs of the literate Arab. In the new radical-reform movement, justifications of Islam have given way to emphasis upon the present low state of Muslims. The issue is no longer one of defending Islam against the direct and indirect attacks of western imperialists, but of gaining international power and realizing the immediate and popular benefits of national self-determination. The old romanticism is not denied; rather new things are added. The most important of these new additions are neutralism in the cold war, land reform and social welfare measures domestically, and an emphasis on political activism. Political activism is particularly opposed to the apologetic movement, since the latter tended to offer Muslims the complacent assurance of their superiority. [4] Activism is surely a factor which appeals to youth, and among Arab populations those under twenty predominate. Another aspect of radical-reform nationalism which appeals more to younger people than older, more to intellectuals than businessmen, and more to the proletariat than the peasants, is an extreme emphasis on national solidarity almost to the exclusion of any vestige of individualism. While this is a nationalist rather than a Marxist collectivism, it is often expressed by the term "socialism."

While social and economic reform under the general name of "populism" was an integral part of the ʿIrāqī Ahālī movement ideology in the mid-thirties [5] and while activism was a prominent part of the ideologies of both the Miṣr al-Fatāt and the Ikhwān al-Muslimūn movements, [6] neutralism could not put in an appearance until the opening of the cold war. [7] Some similarity of position may nevertheless be found in the ʿIrāqī Ḥizb al-Ikhā al-Waṭanī and later the Istiqlāl party (which supported the Rashīd ʿAlī al-Jaylānī revolt of 1941) and among pro-axis Egyptians. [8] Thus the basic elements of radical-

[4] W. C. Smith, *Modern Islam in India*, London, 1946, p. 83.
[5] Majid Khadduri, *Independent Iraq*, London, 1951, p. 71 f.
[6] Smith, *Islam in Modern History*, pp. 89 f., 156 f.
[7] Michel Aflaq, *Fī al-Siyāsah al--Arabiyyah*, Damascus, 1948, *passim*.
[8] Anwar al-Sadat, *Revolt on the Nile*, London, 1957, p. 34 f.

reform nationalist theory have been present in the Middle East for some time, but they have probably been best expressed in writing by Michel Aflaq of the Syrian Ḥizb al Baᶜth al-ᶜArabī al-Ishtirākī [9] and in action by the revolutionary government of Egypt. We shall here be mainly concerned with the literary expression of radical-reform nationalism as it is found in a number of Baᶜth publications. But the recent union of Syria and Egypt and the dissolution of all Syrian political parties [10] suggests the usefulness of comparison with the available writings of the leaders of the Egyptian revolution.

The Baᶜth party was founded in 1940, and emerged into open activity in 1943 when Syria achieved formal independence. [11] Its main center of influence is in Ḥama, but it also has some support in other districts. As a small radical party it had little influence in the Assembly elected in 1943 in which the revived Kutlah al-Waṭaníyyah predominated. The Baᶜth was suppressed along with all other parties by Ḥusnī al-Zaᶜīm in 1949. In the elections of 1949 after Zaᶜīm was removed by a second coup the Shaᶜb won a plurality of seats and dominated the Assembly. Somewhat irresolutely the Shaᶜb attempted to lay the groundwork for the union of Syria with Iraq. Shishakli's coup, the third in the series, blocked these attempts and drove the Shaᶜb into opposition to the régime. When Shishakli went on to promulgate a new constitution and to establish a mass national party of his own, both the Baᶜth and the Arab Socialist Party of Akram Haurānī attempted but failed in a coup of their own. Michel Aflaq, Salāḥ al-Dīn al-Biṭār and Akram Ḥaurānī then fled the country and did not return until after the elections of 1953 in which Shishakli's Arab Liberation Rally won 72 of 82 seats. Despite his victory Shishakli was apprehensive of the activities of the political leaders of nearly all parties except his own, and in January 1954 arrested a large number of them. On February 25, 1954 a fourth military counter coup reinstated the power of the political parties. Shortly thereafter the Baᶜth and the Arab Socialist Party merged to form the Baᶜth Socialist Party. In the elections held in October 1954 the Baᶜth Socialists won 16 seats, the Shaᶜb won 28, the Ḥizb al-Waṭanī (descendant of the old Kutlah) won 12, and of the 81 independent and liberal representatives, 30 formed themselves into the United Constitutional Front and 38 formed the Democratic bloc led by Khālid alᶜAẓm. Altogether, 142 seats were filled, one by Khālid Bakdash, the first avowed communist to succeed in any Middle Eastern election. The election of Shukrī al-Quwaṭlī as president tended to weaken the collaboration of the conservative groups. Nevertheless a government comprised of the groupings of independents and the Shaᶜb was formed in September 1955. The Baᶜth, the Ḥizb al-Waṭanī and some independents went

[9] The Arab Resurrection Socialist Party.

[10] *News of the United Arab Republic*, Vol. V, no. 13, March 26, 1958, p. 1; decree of March 12, 1958.

[11] N. Ziadeh, *Syria and Lebanon*, London, 1957, p. 202.

into opposition. In June 1956, the Baᶜth entered a cabinet comprised of all parties and Salāḥ al-Biṭār became the Foreign Minister of Syria. Later the Shaᶜb, still favoring union with Iraq, was excluded from power and many of its adherents in Aleppo arrested, while various agreements preliminary to federation with Egypt were completed. Finally in January 1958, Biṭār, Quwatlī, and Colonel Sarrāj travelled to Egypt to insist on the immediate union of Syria and Egypt.

The Baᶜth, therefore, never gained wide electoral popularity, and it was not above collaborating with certain conservative elements. Perhaps its strongest card was its ability to get along with some of the military. Apparently the Baᶜth was genuinely popular among students and the middle and lower classes in both Ḥama and Ḥimṣ, and to a lesser extent in Damascus. The prospect of new elections in a year or less could not have been very pleasant to the Baᶜth, however. The independents among whom landlords and tribal leaders predominated would understandably win the lion's share of seats again, Khālid al-ᶜAẓm was preparing to contest the presidency, the reaction of Shaᶜb supporters would also be hostile, and finally the communists were gaining popularity on the strength of recent agreements with the Soviet Union and the Syro-Turkish border crisis. Despite the support of some elements of the military, the army was divided and Colonel Sarrāj, who was apparently in closest sympathy with the Baᶜth, was in no position to affect a coup in their favour. It appears, then, that the most congenial solution for the Baᶜth was union with Egypt in order to achieve their aims and to hold on to the power which they had at long last achieved. It may be that the Baᶜth leaders have overplayed their hand, and may lose all control of future developments in Syria to their military collaborator. Nevertheless it is significant to note that no explanation of the Syrian role in these events is acceptable without reference to the ideology and program of the Baᶜth Socialist Party.

Michel Aflaq is the chief Baᶜth ideologist. He founded the party and edited its newspaper. He held political office only for a short period as Minister of Education. We know little more of him except that he studied in France before returning to his home city of Ḥama to teach secondary and that he has traveled throughout the Middle East. [12]

To the western critic, Aflaq's exposition of Arab nationalism presents a hodge-podge of vulgarized European philosophies. There is the usual reflection of Herder in the view that every nation has a peculiar mission to perform and through that mission each will contribute to international harmony. There is the Hegelian emphasis on history and national teleology, but instead of the dialectic, a cyclical concept of alternate glory and decline is substituted. There is a reflection, of course,

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[12] A Short sketch on Aflaq will be found in the *Middle East Forum*, February, 1958, Vol. 33, no. 2, p. 9. The suggestion that he was once a member of the Parti Populaire Syrien is of interest.

of Rousseau's general will, but possibly even greater emphasis on his insistence on the relationship of personality and nationality. The Marxist theory of class struggle also appears and considerable emphasis is placed upon the economic basis of politics, but determinism is rejected and materialism categorically denied. Aflaq's socialism is an aspect of his nationalism in much the same manner as Borochov's zionism was part of his socialism. [13] And finally, as indicated, there is the vitalism of, say, Bergson.

But to criticize Aflaq in this manner is meaningless. The main point is that his expression of Arab nationalism is unique among Arabs, and if European ideas have influenced his thought the cause is not to be sought in his European education, but in the relevance of these notions to the problems which Aflaq sought to solve. One of the most important of these problems, interestingly enough, was the malevolence of western philosophy for young Arab students.

I. THEORY

In a recent investigation of some contemporary Arab nationalist theories Ḥakīm Zakī Nusaibeh digresses from his main theme to discuss the question of the need for a nationalist ideology. [14] His answer is that such an ideology is necessary and should be so developed as to unify the great majority of divergent views among the Arabs. An efficient Arab nationalist ideology should include a description of the content of Arabism, or the definition of an Arab, should assume that the Arabs have a common national interest, and should emphasize the positive aspects of nationalism against the contemporary revulsion therefrom. Much of Nusaibeh's work is a critique of a number of proffered theories emphasizing the nature of Arabism, and he concludes in general agreement with most of his predecessors that the Arabs are characterized by a common language, a common historical tradition, a common interest, and adds that they should adhere to a common constitutional-democratic political ideology. Common religion, common race and geographical contiguity are not included. The first two were specifically rejected except in so far as Islam may be incorporated into the common historical tradition because of the problem of the Christian Arab minority and the admitted racial diversity of Arabic-speaking people. The third was omitted for reasons that may only be inferred: the problem of whether or not Egyptians are Arabs, or more likely by reason of the overwhelming emphasis on the subjective characteristics of nationality. Emphasis on subjective or "spiritual" characteristics is a common feature of ideological and religious movements which tend to consider conversion as separate from its environmental context, i.e., from social and economic factors. Sub-

[13] Ber Borochov, *Nationalism and the Class Struggle*, New York, 1937, p. 142.
[14] Ḥakīm Zakī Nuseibeh, *The Ideas of Arab Nationalism*, Cornell, 1956, p. 57 f.

jective nationalism is similarly prevalent where insistence upon objective characteristics presents too many difficulties, and also where a liberal, non-deterministic outlook predominates.

Against this sort of theoretical background Aflaq's views stand out in vehement contrast. The first of his essays in a small book circulated in Iraq [15] begins with an attack on abstract thinking and theoretical definition. [16] Although written long before Nusaibeh published his analysis, Aflaq's essay seems to be directed against just such efforts: "let not those who pursue foreign nationalist theories and philosophies think... that they can compound Arab nationalism of them..., their constructions are ridiculous regardless of how they dress them up." [17] Pure theory, he holds, dissolves things of their flesh and blood and divests them of their taste and color, it leads to inaccuracy and tends to represent opposites as similar because it reduces real things to mere words. [18] A living thing defies analysis, is completely unique in its essence. [19] In an eloquent and revealing passage Aflaq asserts that Arab nationalism is not theoretical, but it gives rise to theories; it is not the product of thought, but it rather nourishes thought; it has not been contrived by art, but is the source and inspiration of art; nor is there any conflict between [Arab nationalism] and liberty, because it *is* liberty so long as it proceeds along its true path and realizes its full potentialities. [20]

In a direct attack on the thesis that a nationalist ideology is necessary, Aflaq insists that the Arabs have not become nationalists because they have embraced nationalist theory. Nationalism is neither theory, nor love, nor faith, nor will, although all these are necessary conditions of nationalism. [21] These attacks on "abstract" theory are meant to achieve much the same things that Nusaibeh and others desired. They are aimed against those who, educated in the west, tend to reject nationalism as a narrow and harmful ideology. Aflaq is also concerned lest emphasis on theory increase divisions among the Arabs. But he goes beyond this in insisting somewhat contradictorily that nationalism is love, [22] that it is an identity as intimate as one's name or physiognomy. [23]

At first sight all this looks as though Aflaq is striving to reject the objective or rational approach to nationalism. But it is evident that he is not merely insisting on subjective nationalism. Arab nationalism exists quite apart from anyone's positive acceptance thereof, whether

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[15] Michel Aflaq, *Fī Sabīl al-Baᶜth al-ᶜArabī*, Baghdad, 1953, p. 5.
[16] *Ibid.*, pp. 9-11.
[17] *Ibid.*, p. 11.
[18] *Ibid.*, p. 9.
[19] *Idem.*
[20] *Ibid.*, pp. 10-11.
[21] *Ibid.*, p. 12.
[22] *Ibid.*, p. 13; see below for the way in which "love" permits him to force men to be free.
[23] *Ibid.*, p. 15.

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for rational or sentimental reasons. Nationalism is like one's name or visage, bequeathed to him even before birth. Just as it is vain that a man wastes his life in regret that he was not born into some other family or that he had some other appearance, so is it wasteful if he tries to free himself of the bonds of his nation.[24] One's fate must be accepted, and one's destiny fulfilled to the greatest extent possible.

If subjectivism is rejected and nationalism imposed upon a group, surely that group must be defined in some objective manner. Despite his opposition to any effort to resolve Arab nationalism into its various components, we shall see that Aflaq does have a number of objective criteria of Arabism, the most important of which is related to the historical development of the Arab community. The important divergence of emphasis here must be understood in another sense. Contrary to the orientation of most theorists, Aflaq has no qualms about his own Arabism, or about the absolute worth of Arabism. Arab nationalism must not be measured by western models. Above all, he has departed from the apologetic tradition. "We do not proclaim that we are better, but that we are different!"[25] Arab nationalism needs no justification, and hence needs no theory.

Nationalism is not theory, but it gives rise to theories. That is to say, Arab nationalism may not be subject to rational analysis, but there are logical consequences of the incontrovertible fact of Arabism. For Aflaq these consequences are determined on the one hand by the contemporary degradation of Arab civilization and by the essential spirit of that civilization. The Arab decline must be overcome by an active movement based upon an ideology which represents the true spirit of Arabism. At one point, Aflaq is so carried away by his emphasis upon the importance of this ideology that he states that the nation is not a numerical group, but rather an ideology which is incarnate in that group as a whole or in part of it.[26] The minimization of numbers and the phrase "part of it" indicate again the relative unimportance of subjectivism, despite the apparently contrary implication of ideology. The nation is an ideology even if only a minority of its members adhere to or recognize that ideology. Conceivably that ideology might exist, and hence the nation, without anyone knowing or accepting it.[27] It is not difficult to derive from this theme a trenchant collectivism, and an authoritarianism which forces men to be free or compels them to realize their true destinies regardless of their conscious beliefs. Indeed, the problem is primarily that of making the Arabs aware of their true nature. But more of this later. Suffice it for the present to record that Aflaq denies rational theorizing only in so far as it may

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[24] *Idem.*
[25] *Ibid.*, p. 11.
[26] *Ibid.*, p. 59.
[27] *Ibid.*, p. 58.

affect the basic premises of his argument. The premise is to be accepted on faith, the rest follows logically.

The leaders of the Egyptian revolution were men of action and not theoreticians, yet one may note certain parallels with the tendencies of Aflaq in some of their writings. In the first place, the members of the Egyptian Revolutionary Command Council did not self-consciously question their nationalism. In his sole literary effort, President ᶜAbd-al-Nāṣir would prefer to avoid using the word philosophy, for he is not sure where it might lead. [28] In stating this preference it seems obvious that he is wisely avoiding pretensions of the sort which are Aflaq's element. But ᶜAbd al-Nāṣir does not therefore deny that there is a philosophy of the revolution. He suggests that scholars must first investigate closely the history which led up to that revolution before its ideology may be expounded. Thus his position is not dissimilar from that of Aflaq. Nationalism itself is not brought into question and certain logical consequences must be derived therefrom in accordance with a systematic historiography. Anwar al-Sadat concurs even more strongly with Aflaq's basic position: "I have always mistrusted theories and purely rational systems." [29] President Naguib's views are revealing when he explains that his differences with ᶜAbd-al-Nāṣir were concerned with the "philosophy of the revolution." Since neither of them are philosophers, Naguib would prefer to say the "psychology of the revolution." As Naguib puts it, the real controversy was over how far the revolutionary government should go in alienating various Egyptian classes and groups in attempting to achieve its goals. [30] From this, one may infer that ᶜAbd al-Nāṣir's views seem to accord with those of Aflaq again, that is, the philosophy of the revolution exists without being made explicit and that its conclusions ought to be imposed on the nation, even against its apparent will.

II. ARABISM

Despite the fact that Aflaq vehemently castigates those who would define Arab nationalism and abstract its component elements, and even though he stresses ideas which have strong subjective connotations, his is an objective theory. Arabs are not free to be nationalists or not. Aflaq openly deplores the tendency of the western educated to think of nationalism as only one possible ideology whose superiority must be rationally proved. For Aflaq the basis of Arab nationalism is existential, not rational; hence, all Arabs ought to be nationalists. Furthermore, as we shall see, those Arabs who are aware of their own identity and of the consequences thereof, must act as a vanguard of the nation. The role of the vanguard is to mobilize the nation behind the national idea, and to lead in the fulfilment of the national mission.

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[28] Jamāl ᶜAbdal Nāṣir, *Egypt's Liberation*, Washington, 1955, p. 17.
[29] Al-Sadat. *op. cit.*, p. 53.
[30] Muḥammad Naguib, *Egypt's Destiny*, London, 1955, pp. 215-216.

Those whom the vanguard is to influence, and those upon whom the national mission is incumbent are the Arabs. There is no room here for individual preference. Arab nationalism is not to be taken up or put aside like the latest fashion in clothing. Consequently, Aflaq's theory requires objective criteria for determining who is or who is not an Arab.

This logical consequence is never quite faced. The difficulty arises precisely because Aflaq is opposed to intellectual hair-splitting, because his target group have few doubts about their nationality, and because he desires to comprehend the largest possible group within his nation. This difficulty leads to a contradiction of sorts. In the constitution of the Baʿth party it is clearly laid down that an Arab is one whose language is Arabic, who lives in the Arab country, *and who believes in his connection with the Arab nation.* [31] Despite the subjective aspect of this definition and Aflaq's refusal to deal directly with the objective definition which his theory requires, it is possible to find some indirect evidence of his views on the "content" of Arabism.

At different places, Arabism is described as a living memory, [32] as love, [33] as similar to a family name or one's physiognomy, [34] as meaning optimism and the belief that every Arab has a capacity for good, [35] as having an ideology, [36] and as a means of realizing the mission of the Arab nation. [37] These are all poetic and powerful passages and we may assume that their possibly contradictory emphasis is the by-product of the literary effect which Aflaq desired to achieve and his unconcern with thorough-going logic. But two additional references to the content of Arabism are more important. The first parallels the provision of the Baʿth constitution and similarly regards the problem of the marginal Arab. One of the interpretations of the manner in which nationalism is an expression of love states that Arab nationalism has a generous spirit and opens its ranks to whomever was associated with the Arabs in their history and to whomever lived in the atmosphere of their language and culture, and to whomever became an Arab in thought and feeling. [38] The second statement deals less with the marginal Arab, and emphasizes the unity of origin (racial) of the Arabs. The nucleus was then nourished and embellished by a common language, spirit, history, and culture. The decline of the Arabs begins when the common origin loses its importance. [39]

Both references recognize the fact the Arabs of today are not of pure racial stock, that Hamitic, Alpine, Armenoid, Negro, Aryan and

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[31] *Dastūr Ḥizb al-Baʿth al-ʿArabī al-Ishtirākī*, p. 10.
[32] Aflaq, *Fī-Sabīl*, p. 12.
[33] *Ibid.*, p. 13.
[34] *Ibid.*, p. 15.
[35] *Ibid.*, p. 30.
[36] *Ibid.*, p. 59.
[37] *Ibid.*, p. 66.
[38] *Ibid.*, p. 14.
[39] *Ibid.*, pp. 43-44.

Mongolian infiltrations and admixtures have taken place. Both statements take it for granted that medieval Islamic culture was an Arab culture even though not in its highest and purest form. The first statement would bar none of the marginal Arabs, even if somewhat condescendingly; the second clearly regrets the corruption of Arab racial purity, even if not so strongly. Aside from the problem of common racial origin, both statements agree that Arabism includes a common history, a common language, a common culture, and a common spirit or common thought and feeling. A comparison of the two passages proves that there is implicit in Aflaq's theory an objective definition of the Arab nation which can be broken down into several components. Even more significant, however is the fact that subjective nationalist feeling is important only in the case of the marginal Arabs, i.e., those who lived with the Arabs, not the Arabs themselves. The constitution of the Baᶜth party goes on to say that those who do not identify themselves with the Arabs will be expelled from the Arab homeland. [40]

Until recently Arab nationalist theorists have agitated themselves with the question of whether or not Egyptians were Arabs. The union of Egypt and Syria would seem to have settled the question once and for all even if Egyptian membership in the Arab League did not. In his pamphlet on Arab Resurrection, Aflaq does not specifically include Egyptians as Arabs, but the Baᶜth constitution in laying down the boundaries of the Arab homeland does include all of North Africa to the Atlantic. In his *Philosophy of the Revolution*, ᶜAbd al-Nāṣir has an interesting view of the Arab relation of Egypt. The Arab sphere is but one of the three within which the Egyptian role is to be played. The Arab sphere is, however, the most important of the three and some feeling of kinship is evident in his treatment. Despite the prior place he gives to the Arab sphere and his own metaphysical expression, it is significant that he emphasizes the rather practical point that the Arab area is united, particularly in that the same forces are united against it, i.e., the forces of imperialism. [41]

Naguib, like ᶜAbd al-Nāṣir, writes of the Arab connection of Egypt only as a matter of foreign policy. His only important reference to relations with the other Arab states is in his rather proud description of the program of the short-lived Liberation Rally. The eighth and the ninth of eleven points provide for friendly relations with all Arab states and a regional pact to increase the influence of the Arab league. [42]

The impression which is derived from these two books, that the leaders of the Egyptian revolution considered themselves Egyptians first and Arabs second, that they sought first to solve Egyptian problems and then Arab problems rather than solve Egyptian problems by

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[40] *Dastūr*, p. 10.
[41] Nāṣir, *op. cit.*, p. 98.
[42] Naguib, *op. cit.*, pp. 184-5.

means of Arab nationalist activity, and that relations with other Arab states were primarily a matter of foreign policy for them, is corroborated by the absence of any important statement of the matter by Al-Sadat, and by the texts of the few circulars cited by Al-Barāwy. [43] In these circulars, issued by the Free Officers, the other Arab states are mentioned in only two places, while Arab nationalism is never discussed. The two relevant statements oppose the MEDO proposal of the western powers as an imperialist device, and the Arab Collective Security Pact because it was negotiated while Britain retained important preferential rights in Egypt, Jordan, and Iraq. [44]

III. ISLAM

Islam remains a living ideology in the Middle East. Even though none of the Middle Eastern states conforms explicitly to the classical conception of an Islamic polity, neither does any, except Turkey, reject the legitimization of an established religion. The importance of religion in the governmental structure of Middle Eastern states tends to be thought of as a negative function of western influence or the modernity of political outlook of the governing elite. But religion is not simply inversely proportional to westernism, nor is nationalism directly proportional thereto. Egypt, which most certainly has a more highly developed nationalism than Syria, has had a much more severe religious problem. It is therefore possible that the active and efficient influence of religion varies directly with the influence of nationalism. The problem of a vigorous religious movement is in the opposition of some versions of Islamic fundamentalism to nationalism. In Pakistan the Jamāᶜat-i-Islāmī was outspoken in its opposition to nationalism. In Egypt the Muslim Brethren emphasized anti-imperialism and condoned nationalism. Nevertheless it is quite clear that the leadership of both groups was essentially reactionary and a potential rival of the westernized élites which led both countries. The vigor of both groups and the wide popular respect in which they are held is evidence of the continued loyalty of Middle Easterners to Islam. Moreover, the Arabs, the Pakistanis, and even the Iranians have explicitly rejected the Turkish solution. Arab nationalists have agreed that their nationalism must accommodate Islam. The 'ulamā' seem prepared to help in finding some practical compromise. Heretofore nationalism, and particularly nationalist theory, was the private preserve of the better educated and the highly westernized. The key to popularizing either nationalism or Islamic modernism of any kind is to include some of both in one's doctrine. But there remains the problem of which is the more important.

In Aflaq's treatment of this basic Middle Eastern ideological problem nationalism is superior to Islam, Arab nationalism comprehends

[43] Rashīd al-Barāwy, *The Military Coup in Egypt*, Cairo, 1952, pp. 199 f.
[44] *Ibid.*, pp. 209-210.

Islam, and it is possible to infer that Islam is one of those objective characteristics constituting the Arab nation. While Aflaq's views on Islam are definite, he does not consider the religious problem significant enough to require separate treatment. His references to Islam are all secondary to the main stream of his thought, except in so far as Islam is an aspect of the historical heritage of Arabism.

At one point, Islam is recognized as an alternative ideology, at least for those who attempt to define Arab nationalism in terms of abstract theory.[45] But Aflaq rejects this view insisting rather that Arabism comprehends Islam.[46] He does not assert that nationalism always comprehends religion; such would be the view of the abstract theorist: "But let us forget terminology and call things by their real names. Let us substitute Arabism for nationalism and Islam for religion; then the problem may be seen in a new light. Islam was created out of the heart of Arabism. It is impossible for them to conflict."[47] This is Aflaq's answer to the frequent questioning of students: "does it deny religion....?"[48]

But the problem may not be disposed of so easily, for there are conflicting views of the nature of Islam. Which is the Islam which finds its place in Arab nationalism? Before answering that question, Aflaq is at pains to point out which is the Islam that does not accord with his Arabism. Neither the traditional nor the fundamentalist view of Islam is acceptable. Aflaq's nationalism emphasizes historical development, and the changed requirements of the times. The nation developed in history; at one stage its nature was determined by Islam but this tendency led to certain difficulties. Islam must develop along with Arabism. Both stem from the heart and both proceed from the will of God. Each supports the other and embraces the other, "especially because religion resembles the genius of nationalism and flows along with its nature."[49] However, neither nationalism nor Islam (by implication) should be enclosed "in a framework of narrow definition as did the 'ulamā' al-Kalām in the old days..."[50] And again, Arabism denies the necessity of reviving the useless things of the past.[51] The past is studied not that it may be saved, but so that it may inform the actions of the present. Arabism is progressive, it reaffirms its heritage by rediscovering it, not by copying it.[52]

These statements indicate that Aflaq is opposed to both traditionalists and fundamentalists, but they do not clarify his position on *Ijmāᶜ* modernism. As a matter of fact Aflaq nowhere discusses the criteria for the development or reform of Islam. The emphasis of what he does

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[45] Aflaq, *Fī-Sabīl*, p. 9.
[46] *Ibid.*, p. 10.
[47] *Ibid.*, p. 10.
[48] *Ibid.*, p. 13.
[49] *Ibid.*, p. 15.
[50] *Ibid.*, p. 9.
[51] *Ibid.*, p. 33.
[52] *Idem.*

say leads to the conclusion that Islam is to be reformed and developed in accordance with the development of Arab nationalism. That is, unlike the *Ijmāᶜ* modernists, legal theory is of slight importance to his system. Islam, like nationalism, is a spirit and a memory.

In a discussion of the Arab mission and its relation to Arab history, Aflaq, with no prior indication, states that he has related the Arab mission, which is built on the "principles of humanity" to religion.[53] The abruptness with which he introduces the subject renders it somewhat obscure. However, it is probable that Aflaq means this mission to be, partly at least, the contribution of the Arab nation to the world. The vague term "principles of humanity" recurs frequently, and indicates recognition of some value greater than, or at least coordinate with, nationalism. Humanity can only be served through nationalism. The two may be in opposition in abstract theory. But Arab nationalism can bridge the gap to the principles of humanity because it comprehends or is characterized by the universal religion of Islam. Thus it may be possible that Aflaq believes that Islam is merely the Arab version of certain higher universal ethical concepts which he calls the principles of humanity.

We have already referred to Aflaq's view that a certain stage in Arab history may be called an Islamic period. Islam revolutionized the life of the Arabs, for it taught that values were no longer to be derived from the group. Values emerging from above the group and the individual alike, counterbalanced the collectivism of the earlier period of ignorance, and thereby brought harmony between the individual and the group. Islam gave the Arabs a sense of destiny, and turned them from being exclusively concerned with the present. The approval of the group no longer satisfied Arabs; they had to seek some higher goal. In the place of external anxiety, there was substituted a new inner anxiety.[54]

This is certainly a most favorable view of Islam. However, it is to be noted that this view is a very general one. No specific provision of Islamic law is stressed. The points emphasized are individualism and other-worldliness. Islamic political institutions and ideas are omitted. Later on, both individual freedom and "anti-materialism" are included in Aflaq's idea of the Arab spirit, but within the context of his discussion of Arab history, the Islamic period and especially its social contribution had certain untoward effects. "This is the period in which the Arabs moved from ignorance to Islam... distinctions among individuals were of little importance, and not long thereafter the Arabs were drowned in the bottomless sea of various foreign peoples."[55]

This is the beginning of the decline of the Arabs both nationally and morally. The importance of this interpretation cannot be too highly

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[53] *Ibid.*, pp. 45-6.
[54] *Ibid.*, p. 47.
[55] *Ibid.*, p. 48.

stressed. A key to differentiating among the multitude of Middle Eastern ideologies is almost invariably to be found in the theorist's explanation of the "decline." Of equal significance for an understanding of Aflaq's attitude toward Islam is his denial of its moral effectiveness. Not only did the Arabs lose their national feeling, but they returned to their anti-social habits of the period of ignorance. "Wherever national life does not prevail according to its true form, then narrow individualism and narrow-mindedness return." [56] Thus by an indirect and complex path Islam has become the cause of the decline of the Arabs. Islam has indeed contributed certain values to Arabism, but it is not in itself a foundation for individual morality.

Though Islam has been severely damned with very faint praise, we have seen that it has not been denied. Arab nationalism comprehends Islam and is not in conflict therewith. The dissemination of Islam is part of the Arab mission, but this Islam is no more than knowledge of the hereafter, the one God, and the notion of individual salvation. This Islam has no social ethic. The consequence of this theoretical approach is to render Islam subordinate to Arab nationalism, but it also tends to derogate from the Arabism of non-Muslims.

Egyptian nationalists could not so easily dispose of the religious problem. Their views accord generally with those of Aflaq, but they are aware of other dangers besides those of rigid anachronistic authoritarianism. For years members of the Free Officers group had maintained contact with the Muslim Brethren. Extensive cooperative efforts had been planned and when all political parties were abolished the Brethren were permitted to continue. The final break came only after members of the Brethren had attempted to assassinate ᶜAbd al-Nāṣir. The dissolution of the Brethren in Syria in 1958 was a matter of course and was obstructed by nothing more substantial than a plaintive protest. [57] Even before the open clash with the Brethren, the Free Officers expressed their unwillingness to share power with them in the incident of Rashīd al-Meḥanna. Nevertheless, the Free Officers respected Islam, and were at once admiring and suspicious of the Brethren.

Anwer al-Sadat was for many years the contact man between the Officers and the Ikhwān. [58] His reports on meetings with Ḥasan al-Bannā and intrigues with him and the Germans makes interesting reading, but cannot obscure the fact that much mutual suspicion existed. Except for the ill-fated attempts to cooperate with the Germans, no combined efforts were ever carried out. Finally, Sadat's own version of his activities on the day of the Revolution indicate that he was not completely in the confidence of the rest of the Revolutionary Command

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[56] *Idem.*
[57] *Al-Difāᶜah*, Jerusalem, March, 1958, p. 1.
[58] Al-Sadat, *op. cit.*, p. 30.
[59] *Ibid.*, p. 28.

Council, or at least that he was not an important figure in the Revolution.

Sadat sums up the attitude of the Officers toward the Brethren as follows: "... in its early days, the Muslim Brotherhood seemed a useful ally... the Brotherhood opened its doors to good and bad indiscriminately ...[it] was to become an organization of unbounded fanaticism..." [59] When Sadat asked Ḥasan al-Bannā in 1942 to cooperate in a coup, the latter replied enigmatically and suggested that the two groups join. Sadat objected "that ideology of the Brotherhood was essentially different from ours..." [60]

Naguib is explicit in asserting that the Revolutionary Command Council sought to establish a secular republic. Col. Rashīd Meḥanna, as he put it, desired to go back to the theocratic state of Salāh al-Dīn. [61] But it was not the intention of the RCC to do away with religion. When the old constitution was abolished on December 10, 1952, the RCC announced its intention of providing in the forthcoming constitution for the establishment of Islam as the state religion, with full freedom of worship. [62] The constitution of 1956 reflects these views, [63] even though the provisional constitution merely provided for freedom of religion. [64]

In ᶜAbd al-Nāṣir's discussion of the three spheres surrounding Egypt, he refers last of all (after the Arab and the African spheres) to an Islamic sphere. His emphasis on Islam seems a matter of foreign policy, not ideology. In his suggestion for an Islamic world parliament, he makes it clear that the resultant cooperation should not proceed beyond the limits of the loyalty of each to his own country. Despite the generally identical attitude of Naguib and ᶜAbd al-Nāṣir, their writings present an interesting contrast with regard to the meaning of the Ḥajj. Naguib records that his second Ḥajj meant the renewal of his faith in the brotherhood of man. [65] ᶜAbd al-Nāṣir records the more jarring opinion that the only *raison d'etre* of the Ḥajj is to serve as an Islamic world parliament which "should become an institution of great political power..." [66]

Despite the variety of emphasis and expression in the writings of all these men, they all seem to be in general agreement. Aflaq and ᶜAbd al-Nāṣir put nationalism above Islam and would have Islam serve nationalism. Neither excludes or opposes Islam.

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[60] *Ibid.*, p. 44.
[61] Naguib, *op. cit.*, p. 150.
[62] *Ibid.*, p. 177.
[63] *Constitution of Egypt*, articles 3 and 43, pp. 3, 9 official translation.
[64] Naguib, *op. cit.*, p. 186.
[65] *Ibid.*, p. 197.
[66] Nāsir, *op. cit.*, 112.

YUNUS EMRE: IN MEMORIAM

A celebration took place on the 25th of May, 1957, in a small village, in a quiet corner of Anatolia. For all its humbleness and simplicity, it had an air of great dignity and beauty devoid of pomp and show. No publicity was made to announce the affair, nor had it any official character.

A small committee headed by three brothers of Eskişehir, motivated by a fervent love for their favorite saint, arranged the program for a celebration in his memory. Special invitations were sent to small groups in Istanbul and Ankara, and there were a few handbills in some of the shop-windows in Eskişehir to announce the event to the local people.

When the Istanbul group of fifteen arrived in Eskişehir, on the day prior to the celebration, they were met and entertained by the members of the committee. In the early morning of May 25th, special buses conveyed the guests to Sarıköy where Yunus Emre's mausoleum is. The three-hour ride was an experience in itself, as hymn after hymn, chiefly from Yunus Emre, was sung filling the very air we breathed with spiritual warmth. As we went along, we saw that the roads and fields were alive with throngs of people, some travelling on foot, some by bus or lorry, tractor or cart, others on horseback or donkeys; to say nothing of the crowd arriving by train.

A special place was prepared for the "city guests" from Ankara and Istanbul. The spot was covered with awnings, and the benches of the village school had been brought over and arranged; also the ground was covered with beautiful carpets from the village mosque for the guests to sit on. A farmer from the village, a warm-hearted, energetic, lovable man, greeted the people, took care to show them their places, tried to keep order, to see that people were protected from the sun, and that everybody was happy.

When all was ready, there stood in the sunlit fields and valleys an expectant crowd of over twenty thousand. The program began with a short speech of welcome, and with it, a sudden thunderstorm broke out and rain came down in sheets. Those of us who could take refuge, under an umbrella or raincoat, did so, but the masses of people, that swayed like wheat across the fields, kept their places, all on their knees, and patiently waited for the storm to pass; and pass it did, for a while. We were told later that Yunus was always considerate of his guests, and would never leave them to scorch under the burning sun. Every year, when people in crowds visited him on the anniversary of the passing away of his earthly body, *rahmet* [1] (rain) came intermittently to greet them and soothe their hearts.

Now the chorus of two hundred voices, especially trained for the

[1] The Turkish people usually use the word *rahmet* for rain which means God's compassion and mercy.

occasion, broke out into beautiful hymns of heavenly harmony. So the celebration went on, now under showers of rain, now in a break of sunshine, until the noon hour when lunch was served in small paper boxes neatly prepared for the "city guests." A piece of cold meat, two boiled eggs, a generous helping of semolina helva, and flat village bread, not to mention the ayran [2] and heap of lettuce freshly cut and washed, and all this was happening on a hill at a considerable distance from Eskişehir! As the food was distributed, the good farmer kept saying to those who thanked him: "This is Yunus Emre's gift, we did nothing." Truly it was as though Yunus Emre's spirit had descended upon the farmer and the men helping him.

The second part of the celebration was the chanting of the famous *Mevlûd*. Again under the rain and sun, the great masses listened fascinated. Order was kept till the very end, when the crowd dispersed as quietly as they had gathered. The wonder of it too was that all these thousands of people, peasant and townsman alike, went individually up the stairs, prayed at the tomb, took a drink from the fountain at the foot of the mausoleum all in perfect order. To be an eye-witness of such an event, to see the solemnity and reverence in the faces of the thousands proving again that spiritual influence will reign in the hearts of the people no matter what outward circumstances may be, was an unforgettable experience.

Anatolia holds nine tombs of Yunus Emre at the present time, and it would not seem strange if other tombs or mausoleums were to be discovered. Why should it seem strange since every village, every town and every city would be glad to appropriate this beloved saint and to count him as their very own? What better could they do in appreciation of him than to erect a mausoleum in his memory, and in times of distress or joy find comfort in visiting it, finding peace in prayer?

In the village of Tuzcu of Erzurum, Yunus sleeps side by side with Tapduk, his beloved Shaikh. The kind of thyme that grows over Yunus's tomb fills the air with a delicious, sweet scent, and is not to be found on any other hill. The soil here seems to have bestowed all its generosity on the thyme. It is a saying that "the sweet scent of Yunus's earth spreads itself over seven mountains."

Likewise, the violets covering the 'tomb' at Bursa are just as famous as the thyme of Erzurum. Yunus's third 'tomb' at Keçiborlu in Isparta is covered with prolific roses. There are 'tombs' of Yunus in Çay of Sandıklı; in Aksaray of Konya, and in Karaman. In Karaman every pilgrim visiting the mausoleum of "*Mader-i Mevlâna*" (Mevlana's Mother) turns his face to the tomb of Yunus Emre and utters a prayer. In the village of Emre of Kula, Yunus, sleeps on the threshold of Tapduk Emre. The Shaikh and his family rest in the mausoleum. The tombstone bearing the sign of an axe is a reminder of the days

[2] Drink made with yoghurt and water.

when Yunus was the woodcutter to the *Dergâh* [3]. He has chosen the threshold as his place of rest, so that "those who come to visit my shaikh, may trample over me in passing."

In spite of all this, it is known for certain now, that the true tomb is the one in Sariköy near Eskişehir. It was Prof. Fuad Köprülü who stated this fact for the first time about forty-five years ago. Others have confirmed it since. But the important thing is that Yunus Emre himself made the fact known in a miraculous way in 1947. [4]

When the original railroad between Ankara and Eskişehir was laid down, the company in charge showed great respect and courtesy by changing the original plan so that the line passed at a distance of five or six meters, instead of stretching over the place where Yunus Emre's humble tomb and its adjascent guest-house stood. Moreover, when the work was being done, the company had sacrifices offered at the tomb, an appreciation repeated on certain occasions. When the train was put into operation, more often than not, trains would make a stop near Sarıköy, blowing their whistles in respectful salutation, while the personnel stood to attention. This voluntary custom continued until the first World War when ruin and destruction were rampant.

Then the years passed and things were forgotten until 1949 when the double railroad was being constructed. New plans had to be made, according to which the line was to run over the very place where Yunus Emre slept. Two or three vigilant souls hearing of this, put in a request for official permission to remove the tomb back a hundred and fifty metres. They undertook to be responsible for all the expense and labor involved. The authorities granted permission on condition that no ceremonies were to take place on the spot, and no one was to know of the event. Among other conditions, the Ministry of Education was to send an archeologist to survey the work. This handful of devotees of Yunus Emre were so eager to do the job, that they accepted all the conditions, for all they wanted was to deliver their beloved saint from being trodden under foot or rail, to save the tomb from the clutches of nettles, and from being an owl's nest, and erect a small and neat monument.

The project was soon put into execution. A small sandstone monument was erected. On the day when the body was to be transferred into this monument, a party of five came from Ankara to Sarıköy. In compliance with instructions, they came unannounced to Sarıköy telling no one of their plans. The headman of the village met the party. He was all agitation and excitement: "Sirs," he said, "you gave me strict orders, but there is something in the air that I cannot understand. Crowds have been pouring in on carts and lorries, and there they are gathering!... Just look!" There was nothing to be done. How could one prevent folks from stepping over valleys and hill if they wanted

[3] Dervish convent.
[4] *Ülkü*, No. 30, June 1949. p. 10.

to do so? The sight the small party encountered the next morning as they came to the tomb to start work was incredible. The Sarıköy plain had become an ocean of people, for a crowd of at least thirty thousand swayed like huge waves as they sang hymns while waiting for the ceremony to begin:

"Those rivers of Paradise
Flow, crying, *Allah, Allah!*"

Who asked these crowds to gather? Where did they come from? They came from Sandıklı, Bolvadin, Konya, and Bolu. The buses were hired "on condition, to get there in time for the celebrations!" Come they did and not empty handed! People from Bolu came with their most famous cooks, those from Konya with their spoons and sheep, the villagers of Karadut with their famous cauldrons, their numerous *hâfızes*,[5] and loads of *Mevlûd* candy ... and those villagers who had no suitable offering to make, brought their school boys and girls for service.

Today, it still remains a secret, as it was on the day itself, just how the thousands were gathered and organised on that night, how it happened that perfect order was maintained, and how all went on so harmoniously throughout the celebration! When the tomb was uncovered, what was revealed to the human eye was just as miraculous. After a sleep of over six centuries, the skeleton was in perfect condition, with one hand resting under the head, the other on the heart. A religious service was performed and the body placed again in the coffin draped with an embroidered green funeral pall, the gift of the district governor.

A crowd of about twenty thousand was present for the noon-prayers. When the prayers were over, the carrying of the coffin, borne over thousands of hands, a distance of 150 meters, took fully three hours. Every one wished to have a share, to touch the coffin of the beloved saint. Old women, young women, and children wept; "Ah!" they said, "We came on our knees, we came touching the earth with our faces!", "Ah, we came, the *imam* with his staff, the shepherd with his stick!"

When all was done, the entombment completed, and Yunus laid once more in his place of rest, the people turned to see the cauldrons steaming, the *pilaf* already cooked, the *helva* ready... The masses of people sat on the ground, school boys and girls served, and everybody ate his fill. Then the best singers of Anatolia, chanted the *Mevlûd* of Suleyman Çelebi, and thus, with the call of one immortal poet to another the ceremony ended. A writer telling of the event says: "Now there will be those who may ask themselves, if such a legendary event ever did take place? Let them go on questioning. Fortunately, the great saint did not neglect the technical side of the affair either, and sent photographers, according to modern times, to witness the cere-

[5] One who knows the whole text of the Quran by heart.

mony; so that this event has been photographed in all its aspects..."

What would it matter to Yunus Emre were he to be left to sleep in a ruined tomb? Was it not enough to be living in the hearts of the people? For a man whose memory is thus engraved on the soul of his people; whose verses (many of them having been put to music) are recited by all classes of people; who has discovered the secret of being of the people and with the people, touching their hearts and dwelling in their very souls, a small tomb, or no tomb at all, means nothing. But it would have been a shame on the generations to have left the tomb of such a loved saint in such a devastated condition.

Who was Yunus Emre? Where and when did he live? We have a typical answer to those questions in an article by the popular modern writer Nezihe Araz: "Who, and whose son, or whose father, was Yunus Emre? Where was he born? Where did he live? Who knows how much longer these questions will remain unsolved. But, what do we care what village or family was his birth-place? Although we do not know all these things, we do know that there was a Yunus, in as much as we know him, that is sufficient for us all. This Yunus is of a calibre that would be enough to bring prosperity to our lives in this world and the next! He is Yunus, the Lover; he is Yunus, the Sorrowing; he is Yunus the Humble; he is Yunus the Dervish, and most important of all he is Our Own Yunus!"

"Oh, yes! What matters if we do not know all about his genealogy; what matters if history has not yet ascertained his village or district or home; since we know him as we know ourselves; we love him as we love our own fathers and ancestors, and revere him as a man of God, as a saint! It would have been greatly desirable had we known all the answers to questions about him; but what do we care if we do not know the exact day and hour when he was born or when he passed away? Were it possible to ask him these questions, he would perhaps say with a humorous chuckle: 'Was I ever born?', 'Did I ever die?' and then thunder: 'Can I ever die?' "[6]

Has he not himself declared:

"Lovers never die
Neither do they decay (in the earth)."

Historians tell us that Yunus Emre lived in the latter half of the 13th and the beginning of the 14th century. He was a Turcoman dervish who lived in central Anatolia and a great folk-poet. Had not his verse and songs, and his legends been handed down from generation to generation, we would not have much more to say about him.

Be that as it may, the person we are trying here to see and portray in this article, is the Yunus Emre who lives so vividly and profoundly in the mind and heart of the people.

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[6] Anadolu Evliyaları, pp. 62.

Yunus Emre was a poor farmer from Sarıköy, a village near Eskişehir. It was a year of dearth and famine. The steppe seemed to be angry, and shut in, again. The poverty-stricken Yunus of Sarıköy was more concerned for his neighbours than for himself. What could he do to help the poor? Where could he find wheat for the orphans and widows? He remembered once having heard of a great man in Kirşehir, a generous, noble man whose charity extended to the very birds and beasts. Yunus had heard from travellers of the miraculous acts of this man; so perhaps the good man would prove gracious and would not turn Yunus back empty-handed. With such a hope burning in his heart, Yunus prepared his ox-cart, placed his humble gift, a handful of medlars, into his wallet and started off to present himself before the holy man whose name was Hadji Bektaş.

When he arrived at the Dergâh, the dervishes gave him a warm welcome, as they would any of "God's travellers." They offered him hot soup; they listened to his story and knew what his wish was; they partook of his medlars, and were warmed with his lovable personality and purity of heart. When his request was communicated to Hadji Bektaş Veli, he asked: "Would he rather have wheat or 'support' of holy men (*erenler himmeti*). How was Yunus to know what the 'support' of holy men was? He asked for wheat, for, back at the village, kith and kin were hungry. The dervishes carried the message to Hadji Bektaş Veli, who laughing gently sent Yunus another message. "If he wishes, we will give him ten *nefes* [7] and ten *himmet* [8] for every single medlar, or for every single seed... But if he will not have these, let us give him wheat. What is his wish?" Yunus in his simpleness of heart bowed his head and muttered: "No, I would like to have wheat!"

What could they do but comply with his wishes then? They filled his ox-cart generously with wheat and other food, and Yunus started on his way. As he went along, however, he could not get this *erenler himmeti* out of his mind. There must be something behind all this! Something inside him told him that he had done wrong by preferring wheat to the other thing. But why? That he could not understand. Then something happened to him, he seemed to pass into a state of ecstasy. Some strange power was taking hold of his sentiments; his very soul took flame and began to burn within him. No, he could not possibly go back to Sarıköy! He turned back and headed for Kırşehir. His only desire now was to go into the presence of Hadji Bektaş once more, to ask him to take back the wheat, and grant him the *erenler himmeti* for which his soul was now burning. This was a sweet awakening. Yunus saw his inner self for the first time and was entering upon the realm of self-realization.

When the ox-cart halted at the door of the Dergâh, the dervishes,

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[7] The curing breath of a holy man.
[8] The "support" of a holy man.

who were expecting this to happen, looked at each other and chuckled. Hadji Bektaş Veli had never knocked in vain at any door. This time Yunus entered the presence of Hadji Bektaş in person, and when his eyes fell on the holy man's countenance, he completely lost control of himself and begged: "Take back your wheat, and give me your *himmet*!" But what had happened had happened, "the arrow had sped from the bow;" the deed was done and could not be undone. Hadji Bektaş Veli said solemnly: "Your lock is now given to Tapduk Emre; go, and find him!"

Tapduk Emre! Where was he to be found? There was a village between Salihli and Kule, now called *Emre Köyü*, and Tapduk was the very soul of that village. So now Yunus had to find this holy man, for the Divine love that was aflame within his soul would not let him rest until he reached his destination, where he was shown the key to the Divine way he was in search of.

Yunus, the farmer of Sarıköy, became the Derviş Yunus of the Tapduk Dergâhı. But indeed, to strip off his old self and take on the identity of *Derviş Yunus, Âşık Yunus* (Yunus the Lover) had not been so simple. In fact the secret underlying all this may be of interest to everybody. He says: "Come and see, what love has done to me!"

We must look again to legends to find the meaning of this. Yunus's special task at the Tapduk Dergâhı was wood-cutting. Every day he went to the woods, cut trees, shouldered the pack, and brought it to the woodshed of the Convent. "The difficulty for him was not in the task itself, but in the fact that his daily work deprived him of seeing the loved countenance of his Shaikh where he beheld Divine beauty manifest," says one of his devotees.

He had time for thinking as he went back and forth on his daily task. He could not find one soul more faulty, more sinful, and lower than himself. Therefore he cries:

"If I attain not my purpose and my aim,
Oh, woe is me, and pity, alas!
If I see not my God's beauty in all splendour,
Oh, woe is me, and pity, alas!"

In those days Âşık Yunus was experiencing the period of *cünûn*.[9] While in this period, lovers feel a tremendous fire in their innermost souls, an unbearable yearning, and are a prey to doubt, hesitation and fears. Listen to Yunus as he tells of his fears:

"Should He say, 'Oh, my sinful servant, look at thy book![10]
Should He see the blemishes on my brow, and say, 'They are too many'
Should He say, 'Get out of my heaven and earth!'
Oh, woe is me, and pity, alas!"

[9] Insanity caused by divine love.
[10] Record-book of one's actions.

But he is unduly fretful, for he was one of the elect, and his time of *cünûn* did not last long, and he soon found himself in a serene, illuminated and mature state. In the dervish vocabulary, the name of this phase is "fûnun" [11]. Yunus living in this, saw *Al-Ḥaqq* (God) in every atom, and found healing within himself.

"I love Thee beyond the innermost (bounds) of my soul!
I have a way beyond the innermost of essentials!
The *Sharīᶜah* and *Ṭarīqah* are roads (to the travellers) on the Way,
The fruit of *Ḥaqīqah* [11a] is further within.
Think not I am aware of myself, for I am not;
There is a Me within me beyond (the innermost bounds of) my very being."

He, in fact, has solved all his problems through this "Me within me." The sole desire of this "Me" is love.

"Slay me with Thy love,
Or hold my hand, and raise me.
Many a tear Thou hast caused me; now grant me joy in turn.
I shall never turn my face from Thee."

His cry is not one of dismay now. Meanwhile Yunus has to go on with his earthly task... "After all, are not the affairs of this world a means to the death to worldliness, and the finding of eternal life?" The main thing now was to do his job as best he could. So that as he travelled along his spiritual path, we find he has left behind all fear and doubt as he says:

"A strange incurable ailment had I,
I found my soul's medicine, *elhamdülillâh*
I have attained to Muḥammed Muṣṭafā
All my tears have turned to joy, *elhamdülillâh.*"

Yes, all the nightmare of those days when "his Shaikh after boiling him in a cauldron for forty days, said, 'Oh, you still smell of the earth!'" had gone now. He lived on in a tranquillity of the spirit as he continued the job of cutting and carrying wood for the Convent. The most wonderful thing was that in all those years, not one single crooked stick of wood went through the convent gate. One day his shaikh said to him: "But Yunus, are there no bent or crooked wood sticks in the forest?" Yunus's reply was significant not only for his shaikh but for the whole of mankind as he answered: "Of course there are! But no crooked thing can enter through your door, be it a woodstick!"

Yunus was so deeply immersed in his ocean of love that he was not even aware of what was going on in the external world. He did

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[11] Knowledge.
[11a] Divine essence.

not realise, nor cared to realize, the spiritual degrees he had attained. He had no time for anything except love. "Not only human beings but all creatures were moved by his love and were serving him."

One day, he tied a load of wood and was about to shoulder it when the rope broke. Yunus was troubled. Evening was coming on, and it would soon be time for *erenler sohbeti.*[12] He could not afford to be late. At that moment a long serpent came and lay before him. It looked as if the serpent was offering itself to be used as a rope. Yunus accepted the service; he had no time to lose. He collected the wood-sticks, tied them with the snake, shouldered them and started on his way. Tapduk Emre and his wife Ana Bacı sat before the window. Tapduk Emre watched Yunus unload the stack of wood, untie the snake-rope, and saw the huge snake curl away and disappear.

The dervishes saw all this too. But Yunus himself, unaware of what was going on around him, went straight to the fountain to perform his ablutions. Tapduk Emre turned to Ana Bacı and said, "It is time to awaken Yunus to a realization of himself. We must send him on a journey!" Ana Bacı felt the pang of separation, but orders had to be obeyed.

The Shaikh said to Yunus: "No two lions can remain on one *post*,[13] Yunus! Here I cast my sceptre. Go in search of it; if it be our lot to meet again, we shall." *Âşık* Yunus was tongue-tied; what could he say? He knew he was being sent to find himself. It behoved him to "swallow the poison offered by his shaikh as though it were sugar."

He bowed obediently before his shaikh, and shouldering his wallet set off. The shaikh had said to him, "Go, search and find thyself. Finding thyself, be, and die!" So he started on his journey.

There is little information regarding his days of travel. We know little of his whereabouts, his doings, his intercourse with people. Where did he go? Whose hearts did he awaken, and whose paths did he illuminate? Specialists analysing his poems to the line and word, have found that, apart from Hadji Bektaş and Tapduk Emre, Yunus has been with Sarı Saltuk, Barak Baba and Mevlâna Jalaluddin.

In all his wandering days, Yunus yearned to go back to his shaikh. Now he could stand this separation no longer; he had to go back to his beloved teacher. Surely, he would receive some sign to know that his teacher was beckoning him.

One day as Yunus was on his way from one village to another, he met three other fellow travellers. As they went along, the strangers talked, and Yunus listened to their gay stories. They were friendly people with a sense of humor, and were not concerned with other people's affairs. So they did not ask Yunus who he was nor where he was going. Soon it was midday. Feeling hungry they sat down in the shadow of a tree. But what were they to eat? Yunus looked at them,

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[12] The friendly conversation of holy men.

[13] Tanned sheep skin, the ceremonial seat of a dervish shaikh.

none of them carried a wallet. Then, one of the three lifted his hands, and started to pray with a cry of "Hu!" [14] The others folded their arms and bowed in supplication. And lo, three dishes of food appeared before them, and they ate their fill. They praised God, got up and went on their way rejoicing. When evening came, another of the three lifted his hands and prayed, and again food appeared and they ate their fill. For three days, they were fed in this manner. This pleasant game delighted Yunus. How should he know that his turn was coming? On the fourth day, as they sat down to rest under a tree, one of his companions said to Yunus: "You have been our guest now for three days, brother! Now the period of hospitality has ended. It is now your turn to cry "Hu!" and ask God to give us our daily bread!"

Yunus was petrified. What was he to say or do now? How dare he pray in like manner? But he was in a desperate situation, so he closed his eyes and prayed, "Oh my God! For the sake of him, the beloved saint, Thou hast granted the supplication of these friends, do Thou grant me my prayer also, and cause me not to fall into disgrace!" Thank God, his prayer also was accepted, and food appeared before them. The three friends were astonished at this, but they laughed good-humouredly, and said: "Well! We see that you are one of us! Now tell us, how did you pray, so that our food appeared?" Yunus could do nothing but tell the truth. What was known to God, he could not possibly hide from human beings. So he told them how it had happened, and then asked: "Now you tell me, how do *you* pray to get your sustenance?" The three men answered, "There is a beloved servant of God called Yunus! We pray in his name, and say, 'For the sake of Thy servant Yunus, grant us our daily maintenance,' and God never leaves our prayers unanswered." A deep silence followed. Then they rose to go. Yunus said: "My three friends, my three beloved fellow-travellers, here our ways part, farewell!"

Now Yunus had made his decision! He turned his face in the direction of his beloved shaikh, and flew like the wind. His heart still burnt within him, but now it was a different flame. None could stop him any longer. Nothing mattered now, he was going to him.

"No wealth could give me joy,
No poverty could cause me regret;
Thy love is my only solace,
It is Thee I need, only Thee!"

Such was his cry. He cared not whether he was dead or alive. All he cared was to see the face of the belovéd:

"Were I to be slain,
And my ashes sprinkled across the sky;
My earth would cry from above,
'Tis Thee I need, only Thee!"

[14] One of the Names of God, used at the beginning and end of dervish prayer.

Strengthened with this desire, driven by ardent love, he travelled over hill and valley until he reached the threshold of the beloved.

Ana Bacı met him at the beloved's threshold. She knew Yunus was coming. These last days everything had given her tidings of him. But, she wondered, was the time ripe, was the period of penitence (*çile*) fulfilled? Yunus himself, however, had no thought of these. It was as though a voice called him, and bade him come! So all obstacles on the road were lifted, and he ran swiftly on toward his goal.

Ana Bacı was thoughtful. She said, "Look, Yunus, now Tapduk Emre's eyes are weak, and cannot see well. In a little while he will be going out for a walk. Let us try wisely to see whether the time for your coming is due. When you see him coming, just lie down across the threshold. He will stumble against you, and will ask me what it is. I will tell him, it is Yunus. If he says, 'Is it our Yunus?' that will mean permission is granted for you to return. Then you can go into the Dergâh and rejoice. But if he should say, 'Which Yunus is this?' Then I shall keep silent and you will pick up your wallet and start off on your way again. Do you understand?" Yes, he did understand.

As he listened to the footsteps of his master, how could he endure being alive. His heart's flame was near to consuming his body. Nothing he had been through was similar to the moments he spent on that threshold. He was all eyes and ears waiting to know what his teacher's answer was to be. His very being was crying out in agony: "I, I! Thy Yunus, Yunus the suffering, Yunus the wounded; Yunus the lover!" The stick in Tapduk Emre's hand caught on something. All passed as they had expected. Tapduk asked, Ana Bacı answered. Earth and heaven heard Tapduk's reply, and with them did Yunus The shaikh chuckled as he asked: "Oh... is it our own Yunus!!"

Now, Yunus had no more to desire in this life; was it for nothing that his favorite words were:

"When love comes all needs are filled!"

Days went by in a great rapture. One day they were all gathered together around their shaikh for the usual *Hak Sohbeti* [15]. There was another dervish in the company called Yunus, Yunus-u *Gûyende.* [16] He was, as a rule, the flower of the company, reciting poems and chanting divine hymns.

That day Tapduk Emre turned to Yunus-u Gûyende and said: "Our hearts are in rapture; will you sing for us." Yunus-u Gûyende bowed his head and was silent. He wanted to sing, but no words or sound came; he had lost his voice. The company was greatly surprised. What was wrong with the man? The order was repeated three times, and yet no voice broke the silence. Tapduk Emre turned to the other Yunus and said, "Well, then, you had better start using your tongue!"

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[15] Talk about Divine things.
[16] Yunus, the orator and singer.

and then added: "I sent you as a closed box; now you are opened. Speak!"

This was how Yunus's lock was opened. He started to talk from that day. The things he said must have astonished even himself. He had waited for so many years. The passion, yearning and desire pent-up in his heart had been refined and perfected with fire; and now the time for him had come to pour it out! And thus he did in the most beautiful Turkish, over the centuries.

"The rivers of that Paradise
Flow, murmuring, Allah, Allah!
The roses of the garden of Paradise
Drop their perfume, saying, Allah Allah!"

Ask any Turk who is the author of these words, and he will tell you: 'Yunus.' Were you to try verse after verse in this manner, you would find the same result. Once the lock was opened, an ocean of poetry flooded forth.

There was a certain narrow and fanatic Molla Kasım. It was not his lot to understand the sayings of an ardent lover like Yunus. He was so tired of hearing these poems on all sides that he decided he would read them himself. So he took a heap of them, and sat on the bank of a river intending to read. But he became so furious with Yunus that, instead, he started to burn them. The ashes of a full thousand poems were scattered in the air. But the Molla still had many more in his lap. He was tired of burning the works which Yunus was not tired of writing. So another thousand were hurled into the river. Again Molla Kasım looked down, and lo, his lap was still full of them. He was still furious, but he picked up one and started to read it, his eyes growing wider and wider, for this was a miraculous one in which Yunus had spoken of himself. The last couplet of the long poem was:

"Dervish Yunus, say no word that is not straight,
For a Molla Kasım may come to cross-examine thee."

Now the Molla tore his hair. A thousand were consumed by fire, and another thousand carried away by water. And only a thousand were left to read. What matters? See what he says:

"I read the meaning of the Four Books,[17] and studied it well;
When I came to Love, I saw that it was a long, long syllable!"

Yunus Emre is one of those elect ones whose mission in this world is to bring peace of mind and harmony into men's lives. He has endeavored to teach people how to respect the old, be kind and gentle to the young, compassionate and good to the poor. Visiting the sick, serving the disabled, helping those in distress are simple human

[17] The Tevrat, Zebur, İncil and the Qur'an.

duties towards one's fellow men. The greatest wealth is greatness of heart.

Yunus's whole philosophy of life is summarized in one short phrase: "Let us love and be loved!"

His passion for God resulted in an immense love for all mankind:

"Whatever thou wishest for thyself
Wish that for another as well;
If there be any meaning in the Four Books
This it must be, or nothing!"

Yunus has no discrimination for religion, race, tongue or colour; for him there are no poor, no rich, no high or low:

"Say not ill-fame or name,
For thee, high and lowly are the same;
Hast thou reached perfected knowledge,
Come, then, thou, recount the lesson of Love!"

For Yunus no one is a stranger:

"I am not of this tittle-tattle,
Or of the seventy-two tongues;
No stranger I know in this world;
I was born with love divine."

For him only goodness must prevail, "one must not repay evil with evil but must meet evil with good." He prays that the hand that throws a stone at him may become a bed of roses.

"May God make bright the torch of him
Who wishes to extinguish my own!"

This is the Yunus Emre who now lives in the hearts of the people of Turkey. As one goes to his mausoleum, and pauses to refresh oneself with a drink out of the fountain, this is the inscription one reads on the upper part of the stone:

"The *sohbet* is ours today,
He who is of us, may come to us;
He who willingly drinks of love's potion [18],
He may come to us and drink his fill."

Now as we bid farewell to Yunus Emre, let us read the second inscription on the fountain:

"The Divine *şerbet* we have drunk, *Elhamdülillâh*;
The Divine ocean we have crossed, *Elhamdülillâh*;
Collected were we, and became a spring, we spread and became a river;
We streamed into the ocean, and overflowed, *Elhamdülillâh*!"

Istanbul, Turkey SOFI HURI

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[18] i.e. Who suffers for love's sake.

JERUSALEM BY-WAYS OF MEMORY.

It is a truism so far as the Near East is concerned, and probably in the world at large, that it takes a great deal of history to create one legend. Great characters like Abraham and colourful ones like Solomon have become part of the woof of local and wide-spread folklore. In Palestine, for example the legend of his ubiquity has scarcely left Elijah insomuch that his identification with St. George and later with the Quranic worthy, Al-Khiḍr, has become an accepted fact. These and other Palestinians did enough in actual life to merit a place in the annals which overleap the bounds of actual history, as it was.

Folklore then is integral to the life of the Near East—a Near East which has always loved people and rejoices to tell stories about them. The stories tend to grow with the retelling—a process which in itself constitutes a stage in the development of folklore. The folklore habit seems never to have stopped, unless it should be regarded as beginning again with the advent of missionaries in the 19th century. Perhaps it does not happen so readily today with all the counter-attractions of audio-visual aids. Moreover, the modern missionary all too often hardly stays long enough to become a byword. But in less tense and more spacious days the legends began to grow—legends with a basis both in the facts of history and, better still, in human character. Further it seems but rarely that the same story is told of two people—a factor which suggests a real historical substratum. The parallels which do occur are not fastened on to the names of individuals. The Indian tale of the Mission Secretary who procured a ham for the consumption of the delegation from the Society at home and sent it on ahead to the next mission station, so that the mission homes were reported to the "Committee" as living somewhat luxuriously, has Near Eastern parallels. "Grapes" daily [1] and for the whole school was reckoned extravagant by a delegation in Syria! But Canon Webb declared that the Ladies of the Church Missionary Society in the Orphanage at Nazareth provided a chicken dinner with new potatoes and peas. When the delegation got back, the local secretary was asked to account for the lavish display. He was happy to answer that everything was grown on the premises. (The Secretary (acting) was Canon Webb!). It might be well worth while for someone to undertake the task of collecting tales of the missionaries of former generations throughout the world Church, "considering" in the spirit of the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews "the issue of their life." For they shared in the making of Christian history.

In the paragraphs that follow the story-relationship is with the Near East and mostly with the Palestinian clientèle. It behoves us to try to rescue from oblivion some of those "characters," for such they were,

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[1] At a couple of pounds for a penny!

whose biographies are never likely to see the light of day, but whose names are in the "Book of Life" and whose influence is imprinted on the lives of others. Of course it has been chiefly the humorous incidents that have lent themselves to recitation—but they are none the worse for that in the "revelation" of the subject concerned. We should perhaps attempt to differentiate between "traditions" which look genuine and those that are tainted and with which there has been slight tampering. Some classification too should be contrived.

For nearly everyone there are the inevitable pitfalls in learning the language, from which only the few geniuses escape. Most of us have asked for intercession on behalf of "diseases" when we meant "sick people!" There was a young and virtuous missionary in Jerusalem who possessed universally acknowledged gentle characteristics. He found Arabic very hard. One scorching day he had a bright idea and suggested to the catechist-teacher that a visit to the barber would be refreshing in the shirocco. His actual phrasing of the suggestion, however, conveyed the surprising request: "Come on, let's go to hell" (halāk for hallāq). The request, coming from where it did, was at first bewildering; it was hot enough that day in Jerusalem! The student in question only lasted some nine months. But the story has persisted, in unsolicited testimony to the recognised character of the unconscious originator.

Then there was (in the language problem) Miss Agnes Elverson, as inseparable from her walking-stick as Miss Lawfurd from her umbrella and Miss Effie Newton from her pipe and blazer. The first-named was known as *Al-Sitt al-Ṭawīlah*—"the tall lady." Such in truth she was, and in her early days she lived in the village of Al-Ṭūr on Olivet, whence she rode her donkey into the villages around the Holy City. She never felt any compunction in speaking an Arabic which was scarcely immaculate. The story of her grammar lapses belongs to her early days when the donkey was stolen. In due course she was called as a witness before the Turkish magistrate who knew no English and she no Turkish. Together they "made do" with Arabic. In decisive tones (and these things are funnier in Arabic) she recounted her tale of woe, oblivious of her impossible disjunctive and suffixed pronouns. "Gone," said Miss Elverson, "I a donkey" and then "my stomach is white," "your tail is long," "have you seen it?" The animal was presumably returned, for Miss Elverson lived for some time across the Jordan and was guide to Bishop Handley Moule in his Palestinian pilgrimage. "Forty years on" she was prepared to own that the story which has raised many a laugh had at least a substratum of fact. Her pronominal proclivities were unlike those of the lady doctor (Purnell) who in all her "verbal" pronouncements stuck avidly to the third person masculine singular of the present tense for all statements and commands with no regard for addressee or person described. It all made delightful nonsense save for those more intimately concerned

with her in clinic or house. Most people came to know what she meant. This is somewhat reminiscent of General Gordon in one respect. There is an island in the Nile opposite Khartūm called Tūti. Visiting there on occasion we were told that Tūti had provided Gordon Pasha with his Arabic Interpreter. "Then," we said, "Gordon Pasha did not know any Arabic?" "He knew no Arabic," was the answer, "and the interpreter knew no English!" Further questioning revealed the fact that the interpreter gave the people the content of what he thought the General wanted them to know! How many people have suffered in this way?

In Egypt in the early twenties, they were still telling how Douglas Thornton "sweated" over his preparation for Morning Prayer. Saturday evening found him repeating the sentences over and over again One evening his endeavours were disturbed by continuous barking. Thornton went to the window (on the first floor) and opening it called out in colloquial, *Imshi yā kalb* ("Go away, dog"), only to be answered by a voice beneath, "*Ḥāḍir yā sīdī.*" ("All right, Sir"). The question presents itself as to whether this tale would have gained such long provenance with another than Thornton. The idea of his calling anyone a "dog" was so preposterous—Thornton whom everyone knew as so gentle with man or animal as hardly ever to get exasperated. But the story stuck just because it was so unlike the Thornton Cairo knew. Many of the stories of Thornton's colleague, Temple Gairdner, have been told so beautifully by Constance Padwick, [2] that repetition is unnecessary. Gairdner with his forgivable forgetfulness rather lent himself to this sort of thing. Had he been spared for longer the "saga" would have grown. Gairdner's absentmindedness was an inheritance from his father, whose reputation was still green in the University of Glasgow years after his death. Like father like son. Some of the stories about him he told "against himself." There was the occasion when possessed of a new knife to sharpen his pencils on the boat en route for England for the completion of one of his Bible Plays, he mislaid the knife and after debating whether one of his cabin companions might have borrowed it, decided first to comb through his baggage (his own!) only to discover the knife in the bag where he kept his hair brush. They were three days at sea and Gairdner had omitted to use the brush for his hair!

There was Sydney Webb who saw service both sides of the Jordan and in his bachelor days cherished his reputation for domesticity. One morning being in need of half a dozen buttons for various garments, he enquired from one of the ladies the Arabic for "button." He was told *zir*ʾ. The incident was in Es-Salt, where it was more difficult in those days to navigate the awkward steps leading down from the Mission Compound. But Webb repeated *zir*ʾ to himself down the

[2] In *Temple Gairdner of Cairo,* London,

descent to the market, but on reaching the correct shop had forgotten it. Ashamed to return he decided to use his ingenuity; so pointing to his fourth waistcoat button, remarked:—"Please, I want like this!" The shopkeeper obliged with *baṭn*, which sounded quite like "button" but means "stomach." Webb, however, gratified at the apparent similarity with the English, asked for "six." The salesman took refuge in the Almighty at the bare idea of purchasing six tummies. The Canon in his days as examiner never tired of rehearsing the tale.

Across in Egypt at the turn of the century the North Africa Mission had three new missionaries. One was C. T. Hooper, afterwards Secretary of the Bible Society, the second A. T. Upson the gifted Superintendent of the Nile Mission Press, who used to tell us that his wonderful command of Arabic came through the dictionary. No one ever dreamt of Upson making a mistake! Not so, however, the third of the triumvirate, W. T. Fairman, who became a brilliant preacher and reached his standard, according to legend, by sitting in the fields and listening to the *fallaḥīn* talking amongst themselves and to their animals. Fairman did take lessons too, and when the Sunday drew near for his first sermon the teacher told him that every word should be written. The young missionary's subject fittingly was "Forgiveness." The Arabic is *Maghfirah*. The word naturally came several times in the address, Fairman emphasising his points by gesticulation. He noticed, however, that the courteous Egyptian congregation found it hard to restrain their smiles. Afterwards the truth emerged that he had criss-crossed the last two consonants, which made him repeat the mention of the Divine *maghrafah* or "soup ladle." The result, a temporary disaster, was that this was Fairman's one and only written sermon. What sermons he could preach,—forty-five minutes with hardly a note and the Egyptians loved it—and him. There is another "Fairman" tale. On an evangelistic tour at the height of his reputation he spent the night in a village on the left bank of the Nile. The service over, the Church Elders explained that they had thoughtfully provided him with a bed at the back of the building. Assuming that being English he probably liked a cold bath in the morning a round *ṭusht*, as used by laundrymen, had been set there too with a four gallon tin of water. The Elders asked if they should come in the morning and pour the water over the missionary. The preacher declined with thanks. Before turning in he took the precaution of locking the church door on the inside. In the morning he stripped and after pouring the water into the *ṭusht*, squatted therein sponging himself. So advantageously had this been placed that the congregation could look in through the windows on the matutinal ablutions of the British evangelist! Fairman wisely decided that the best course was to do nothing; so carried on unconcerned. Incidentally even in the worst of times the Near East has only rarely lost its sense of humour.

There are some people who "lend themselves" to anecdotes whether

because of some eccentricity or from sheer goodness or genius. Into this category would come J. E. Cheese, (still happily in Jerusalem at the time of writing but known by scores from Aleppo to Nairobi), a peripatetic saint, if ever the modern world has known one. When his friends or flock were scattered here and there, he thought nothing of trudging twenty miles to see one of them. If another happened along one evening Cheese would have him occupy his bed and sleep on the floor himself. At times people were only too glad to give him a lift. If the car already had its full quota of passengers Cheese would offer to sit on the floor with a door open. This was all right till it came to hairpin bends. But, as likely as not, Cheese had a friend a couple of miles off the main road so would the driver stop and he would go and see if the friend was at home—this in the middle of negotiating the bends! No wonder there was respect and love as he trod the Master's ways—in both the literal and the inward sense. With a group of mixed Jewish, Christian, Muslim students one day the subject was the Beatitudes. One of the Muslims remarked that "Blessed are the meek for they shall inherit the earth" was impossible and untrue. The rejoinder: "Do you know Mr Cheese?" brought the response, "I never thought of it like that."

Among the geniuses was the great Doctor-Translator, Van Dyck, whose memory can hardly be obliterated from Lebanon. "What are you going to do, Doctor?" asked a friend one day as the missionary rode out of Beirut. "I am going to open two schools in...." "Two schools, Doctor, one for boys and one for girls?" "No," replied Van Dyck, "both for boys. I shall open one next week and the Latins will do the same the week after!" Laconic too was his pressing of his mare to drink her fill, subsequently to his own succumbing to the lavish table and pressing generosity of a Lebanese friend. The Doctor had lunched too well in response to the *min shān khaṭri* (for my sake) of his host. The mare, wiser than her master, declined to be dragooned into over-drinking. Decades later his daughter (up in the eighties) on going nearly blind had friends read to her the well-known books of the day. "What do you think of that book, now we have finished it, Miss Van Dyck?" "I thought," replied the old lady, "that he had something to say." Encouraged, the friend started on a second book by the same author, but the verdict was not so rewarding. "I thought," she said, "he was trying to say something." The daughter of the Van Dyck who translated the Bible worthily maintained the established family tradition.

The Church Missionary Society in Palestine had as secretary before the First World War a confirmed bachelor. Rumour said the reason why the side door into the Mission House in Jerusalem was the one in use was because Henry Sykes would have been embarrassed by having to open the door facing St Paul's Road after an interview with a lady missionary. But it was rather across the Jordan that Sykes went

into legend. It was there he acquired his reputation for integrity. He was as upright as that "Jordanian" patriarch before him, Job. Hence the surprise entertained by the Church Committee in one town when as a gift he brought back from England, among other sanctuary furnishings, a couple of offertory bags on which were embroidered the letters *I H S,* which were interpreted as *I Henry Sykes.* Why should he want to lay claim to the Church collections? The other "Sykes" story which was already a "chestnut" by the twenties relates how he was riding off alone one Saturday afternoon for Sunday services, when he was accosted by two brigands, who demanded his money and valuables. Sykes obligingly handed over his property. The thieves rode off, but the missionary found he still had a pound (presumably Turkish), though other versions say it was his gold watch. He had told the thieves that he had given them everything! He called out after them, waving his sovereign or watch, saying he was mistaken in telling them he had given them all his valuables. The robbers, however, supposed that they had had enough, unless perchance they surmised that Sykes was waving a revolver. But stories like these chiefly show an uprightness and integrity, which was reckoned the perquisite of every Briton till 1917! Britain owed this reputation largely to the missionary personnel—before days of disillusionment, and worse, dawned in the history of the Near East.

Then there were the redoubtable women of the early decades of the century. At one period, Galilee found itself enriched by the evangelistic presence of no less than sixteen ladies. Travel was not as comfortable as in post-war times. It was some time after "Allenby" that the Haifa-ʿAkka (Acre) sand-track gave way to macadam. This sandy way necessitated crossing the Kishon, occasionally in flood—a reminder of how it had impeded the retreat of Sisera and his army. On one such occasion, Mrs Low and her daughter (later Mrs F. T. Ellis) were held up in midstream, when their carriage was "stuck" for seven hours. Recounting the experience Mrs Ellis would remember that she told the driver what she thought of him. But she learned to drive a Morris minor at 65 and when on one occasion she collided with an olive tree contended it should not have been there! But she and her Mother lived at the time in Kafr Yāsīf (the home of Josephus), where at a later date C.M.S. workers found a quantity of buried "glass" probably part of his palace. This was cut and made into necklets and brooches. Later when Miss Low became Mrs Ellis and she joined her husband in Bishop Gobat School, in order to comply with the regulations of the Turkish Government for getting in supplies free of Customs' Duty, they had to contrive this privilege by describing themselves on the requisite forms as "monk" and "nun." This was following the acknowledged precedent set by the Roman Church! Mrs Ellis was one of many women who made their mark. At the turn of the century the C.M.S. decided to transfer their hospital from Acre to Es-Salt

across the Jordan. The transfer and the transport of the medical equipment were organised by Norah Fisher (*Sitt Nūr* or Light). She was elder sister of the present Archbishop of Canterbury. The transporting was done on camels. Miss Fisher was living in the original cave, which C.M.S. obtained in Es-Salt for the hospital, when the writer first met her in the early twenties. Later when Hospital administration grew arduous, she gave herself to evangelism and to people, having the reputation of knowing almost every convert in the country.

In recent correspondence in the *Times* over the revision of the Psalter (in English) there was a reference to the use of the feminine in the original of Psalm lxviii. 11. "Great was the company of the preachers." This is obscured in the P.B.V., but not so in the R.V. any more than in the LXX or in Arabic versions. A glance not so much at the comparative numbers of men and women who attend church, but rather at the impressive contribution of women in missionary societies in the 19th century, and after, is proof enough that the Psalmist had more prophetic insight on his side either than he probably realised or than the moderns, who seem to desire to maintain a discreet veil over the fact of the feminine. But none the less "great was the company" and great is the company of the *mubashshirāt* as Arabic still terms women-evangelists whether national or foreign. The "company" was so great numerically that reference to the few who come within the ken of subsequent individual missionaries must be taken as testimony to a shared greatness in quality.

There was Miss Newey for long years Head of the Girls' Orphanage in Nazareth, so small, it was said, that when she thought she should exercise corporal punishment by smacking the culprit's hand, had to stand on a stool to do so. It was she who wrote to King Edward VII, asking for a photograph of Queen Alexandra which she could hang on the wall of the Orphanage sitting room at Nazareth. When the post-war missionaries arrived in the 1920's they noticed the collar of Nazareth lace neatly adhering to the royal neck. Back in 1905 or thereabouts when the photograph arrived, Miss Newey felt that the décolleté of Alexandra demanded "redress," if the local ladies were to appreciate the gift, let alone the orphans. Accordingly the collar of Nazarene lace was carefully fixed and for some years visitors were impressed by the thoughtfulness of the Queen in being photographed wearing the lace for which Nazareth was and is rightly renowned!

Back in 1895, there arrived in Lebanon a Lincolnshire girl, who all her life had wanted to work for blind girls in Palestine. The opportunity did not present itself till Mary Jane Lovell was well on the wrong side of thirty. She started her work in Jerusalem with a couple of sovereigns. There was one in her purse when she was buried, "Mother of the Blind," in 1932, the place of the other being taken by the verse: "My God shall supply all your need." So He did after she

had collected some sixty girls in a home provided through the generosity of a tourist from the U.S.A. She was left to look after her girls all through the First World War, one of only two British women in Jerusalem. In 1912 she became stone deaf. But the malady was no deterrent. Relinquishing the Home on reaching seventy, she started on the revision of the Bible in Arabic Braille. It was ten years' loving work; but every syllable had to be "shouted" down the trumpet by her blind helper. She was a disciplinarian too (she said more than once that if you took up work for the blind, you could never afford to take a holiday). She lived her last years in a flat at the top of the Bible House in Jerusalem. The "Lovell Society for the Blind" today with its four institutions in Jordan is testimony to her influence. It all began in 1917 when the strains of "Once in royal David's city" were wafted towards a few soldiers toiling up the windmill way towards the Holy City. These men became her friends. With others of the Second World War, they have perpetuated her work of love and hope so as to exceed her wildest dreams.

"And what more shall I say? for the time will fail me if I tell" of all. There was Anna Y. Thompson, who had so many friends in Egypt through three generations that when she was on the up-country trains from Cairo to Assiut or Luxor, the trains were always late. For she had friends on the staff of nearly all the stations who naturally wanted to greet her when the opportunity came their way. There was Rene Hogg, daughter and biographer of *A Master Builder on the Nile*, with brothers who made their names in Calcutta and Madras, and Edith Butlin, alone in Mosul through World War I, who closed her missionary career in proximity to the colonnades and churches of Jerash. "These all died in faith."

Let this roll of memory end with Eugenie (Jenny) de Mayer. Of Norwegian, German and Dutch blood, Jenny was born in St Petersburg. Her earliest escapade was to rescue one evening a mangy puppy from the gutter and place him in her own little bed, somewhat to the consternation of her parents. Half a century later she was befriending all and sundry in Jerusalem. When we told her sister in the Gare du Nord how Jenny was "doing" in Jerusalem and mentioned a young Abyssinian she was "mothering" who had made his way almost on foot to Palestine from the Red Sea, the sister said: "But Jenny has been doing this kind of thing all her life." She then related the puppy incident. During her early days in Russia she ministered as a visitor in prisons across Siberia, later residing among the Usbecs, whom she never ceased to love. There were a few stranded in Jerusalem from pilgrimages, when she came along in the thirties. They had tiny stalls of combs and soap and other requisites or they acted as doorkeepers at the buildings in the Temple Area. Muslims all, their faces lighted up when Jenny passed their way. Twice she had been a Red Cross nurse on a pilgrim ship to Jiddah. Then came the aftermath of war

and for eight years she found herself a prisoner in the first days of the Russian revolution. She never forgot that she was a *witness* (the Arabic name she chose was *Shaheedah*). Her judges were as impressed with her refusal to give up her right to evangelise as they were when she sent her cheques from prison to scattered missionary friends. On her release she made for Jerusalem. She had been a name for twenty years. One evening when she came to call for the purpose of Arabic lessons and we asked her name, she replied "de Mayer." "Not the great Miss de Mayer," we queried. "No," she said, "the very little one." She had almost lived "in deserts and mountains and caves and holes of the earth:" there is no doubt but that she was one of them "of whom the world was not worthy." She was one of those who made the company of them that publish the Word great indeed. Her biography helps us to understand those remarkable prophetic and Pauline phrases about "bearing the sin of many." When, in Czarist times she was incarcerated on an island in the White Sea, she was one of sixty women closeted together in appalling proximity with some six feet by three of floor space each. This was bad enough, but worse still was the rule that any misdemeanour on the part of any was written down on the crime sheet of each. She shuddered to think of the sins of which she was thus made 'guilty,' prolonging her personal imprisonment through the faults of others. Then one day it burst upon her Christian soul that in being thus "reckoned with the transgressors" she was being permitted to taste the experience of vicarious suffering. In her misunderstood and lonely sorrow she was "being made conformable unto His death."

In these more recent years it has not been given to many missionaries to enter into the experience of being "destitute, afflicted" and even "ill-treated." The post-war generation, however, brought a succession of apostolic and prophetic men and women. The cloud of witnesses grows more radiant with the passage of the years.

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AL-KĀSHGHARĪ AND EARLY TURKISH ISLAM

When the armies of Islam first poured out of the Arabian peninsula to the north (Syria and Iraq) and to the west (Egypt and the North African littoral), they carried with them more than just a new faith. In these newly won lands the conquering Arabs imposed not only Islam but also the Arabic language and many, if not most, of the forms and values of their Arabian culture. So thorough was the process that thirteen centuries later we habitually refer to these areas collectively as the Arab world. Culturally and linguistically the term is not inappropriate, but ethnically it is a misnomer. There are in the area not a few people who think of themselves, and are thought of by others, as Arabs—various "Arab" tribes of North Africa are good example—whose Arabness derives solely from mythical Arab ancestors invented at some point in the past by forbears who desired a closer identification with the people of the Prophet.

To the east and northeast the coming of Islam did not produce the same effect, or at least the effect did not proceed to the same degree, or along entirely the same lines. There, the identification of Islam with Arabness was not so strong, and Arab culture had little impact other than to furnish a script and a host of loan words. This does not mean, however, that the people of the area simply became Muslims, with life and society continuing without change. Among the Turks of Central Asia, for example, with whom we are here concerned, the influence of Islam was reflected in certain non-religious ways within a remarkably short time.

The Turks as a people were relative late-comers to the ranks of Islam. Although the first important contacts between them and the conquering Arab Islamic armies occurred as early as 705-715 A.D., when Qutaiba ibn Muslim was governor of Khurāsān, large scale conversion did not take place until several hundred years later when, under the influence of the Sāmānids, Turks in large numbers were induced to accept Islam of their own free will. Individual Turks, of course, had previously adopted the new faith upon falling under Muslim rule or entering Islamic domains, but it was only in the 4th century (10th century A.D.) that Islam can be said to have become a dominant factor in Turkish society.

When the word 'Turk' first gained general recognition as the name of an entire racial stock is not known exactly. The Chinese *T'u-kiu,* from which the word is believed to derive, first appears as a name for the nomadic peoples of Central Asia in Chinese sources of the 6th century A.D. The first known use of the word by the peoples concerned is to be found in the Orkhon inscriptions which date, according to Thomsen, from 732 A.D.

Thus, while it was as Turks that they were converted to Islam in the 10th century, it appears highly improbable that these Central Asiatic peoples were known by that name to Muḥammad, assuming that he had heard of them at all, or that the word Turk was current in Arabia in his lifetime. Yet, once converted to Islam, the Turks were not slow to claim a direct link with the Prophet and thereby raise their standing in the eyes of other Muslims. In fact, by the middle of the 11th century Islam appears already to have become so much a part of Turkish life that traditional history, folklore and mythology had been altered to accommodate numerous Islamic elements. It is proposed to discuss here a few evidences of this impact as revealed in the work of a contemporary Turkish author.

Maḥmūd ibn Ḥusain ibn Muḥammad al-Kāshgharī was born in the early part of the 11th century in the city of Kāshghar, and, judging from his literary work, received an excellent education. (Biographical data on Maḥmūd is virtually non-existent.) At some point in his life and for reasons which are not known, he became deeply convinced of the need to enlighten the Arabs about the Turks and their language, and to that end he devoted the remainder of his life. For many years he travelled through the length and breadth of Central Asia, visiting its cities and living among its nomadic tribes, carefully recording all that he saw and heard. Settling eventually in Baghdad, he there used his notes to write, in 1074 A.D., a book he entitled *Dīwān lughāt al-Turk,* or Dictionary of Turkish Languages. But although a dictionary in format, the work is an encyclopedia in content. Central Asiatic (i.e. Turkish) history and geography, biography and genealogy, folklore and mythology, customs and traditions, language and syntax, and many other subjects, are touched on by Al-Kāshgharī. Among this mass of data are to be found various evidences of the extent of the impact of Islam on the Turks.

It is a well known fact that during the first several centuries following the death of Muḥammad, various religious and political factions gave currency to thousands of spurious *ḥadīth* in defense of their particular tenets or to prove a point of law or doctrine they wished to make. For the Prophet's posthumous approval was an indispensable authority. The Turks, although they appear to have been considerably more circumspect in this regard than others, were not entirely immune to the malady, and Al-Kāshgharī relates two alleged *ḥadīth* which have a peculiarly Turkish flavor. The first, which he gives in his introductory remarks, is: "The Prophet said: 'Learn the Turkish language, for their rule will long endure.' " Al-Kāshgharī declares that he had the *ḥadīth* from a reliable imām of Bukhārā and also independently from one in Nīshāpūr, both of whom had sworn to its authenticity and related it with complete *isnād.* He fails, however, to name either of the two imāms or to give the alleged *isnād.*

The *ḥadīth* was admirably suited to his purpose. Al-Kāshgharī was

extremely proud of his Turkish ancestry, and his aim in writing the *Dīwān* was to facilitate the learning of Turkish by Arabs, which he felt was a prime necessity. (By 1074 Turks held the civil power of Islam in their hands and the authority of the ᶜAbbāsid caliphs had become no more than nominal.) Thus, the *ḥadīth* served the double purpose of establishing a link with the Prophet and, at the same time, of showing that the Prophet himself had recommended what he, Al-Kāshgharī, was also advocating, namely, the learning of Turkish by Arabs. While he was not averse to using the *ḥadīth* to serve his goal, Al-Kāshgharī apparently fully realized that the *ḥadīth* was very probably not *ṣaḥīḥ*. He carefully disclaimed any responsibility in this regard with the statement that if it were spurious the fault lay not with him but with the imāms who had related it to him. But even this doubt as to its authenticity he turned to account. "If this *ḥadīth* be true," he wrote, "then the learning of the Turkish language is obligatory (*wājib*) [for every Muslim]. If it be not true, then reason still orders it [i.e., the learning of Turkish]."

The second *ḥadīth* was obtained with complete *isnād,* according to Al-Kāshgharī, from a Shaikh al-Imām al-Zahīd al-Ḥusain ibn Khalafī of Kāshghar, who had had it from an Ibn Abī al-Dunyā, also known as Ibn al-Gharqī, as well as from a book written by a Shaikh Abū Bakr al-Mufīd al-Jarjarāᵓī. The *ḥadīth,* which is to be found under Maḥmūd's entry for the word 'Turk,' is: "God said: I have a host which I have called 'Turk' and settled in the East. If any people shall arouse my wrath, I shall give them into the power of this host." This calls from Maḥmūd the comment that: "This is, then, for the Turks, a superiority over all other peoples because God took upon Himself the naming of them. He settled them in the most excellent place on earth in territories whose air is the best, and He called them 'My Host.' Moreover, in the Turks are to be seen innumerable praiseworthy qualities such as beauty, geniality, kindness, breeding, respect for personages, fulfillment of promises, modesty, a lack of boasting, valor and manliness."

Here we see that the Turkish link with the Prophet established by the first *ḥadīth* has now become a link with God, Who Himself conferred on them the name of Turk and thus honored them above all other peoples. The *ḥadīth* thus serves to support the eulogistic opening paragraph of the *Dīwān,* in which the author asserts: "I have seen that God made the sun of the state to appear in the Turkish constellations and all the orbits of the heavens to turn above their lands. God gave them the name of Turk and made them lords of the earth. The khāns of our time have descended from them. He has given into their hands the reins of administration of the nations of the earth. He has made them superior to all others and has justly strengthened them. He has made blessed he who works with them and he who helps them. And because they are Turks He has granted

them their every wish. He has protected them from evildoers. Wise men know that the way to avoid being hit by arrows is to follow in their footsteps..."

The *ḥadīth* can also be viewed as an indirect attempt on the part of Al-Kāshgharī to justify the usurpation of power in Baghdad by Turks since, in the light of the *ḥadīth,* it could be argued that the Arab ᶜAbbāsids had, by their actions, incurred the wrath of God who had thereupon, as promised, brought down on them His Turkish "host."

This *ḥadīth,* it will be observed, provided the Turks with a religious origin for their name but not for the Turkish people themselves. And while the Turks did not forget the popular legend of their origin with its stories of Ergenekon and the White Wolf (Bōzkūrd), they had, by the time the *Dīwān* was written, developed a separate version, to which Al-Kāshgharī twice refers and which is clearly influenced by Islam. In the early part of the *Dīwān* he remarks that there are twenty principal branches of the Turkish people, all of whom can trace their descent back to Turk, son of Yāfith, son of Noah. Then, in his entry for the word 'Turk,' just before he relates the second *ḥadīth,* he writes: "Turk is the name of the son of Noah [the intervening Yāfith is here omitted].... This is the name which God gave to the sons of Turk, the son of Noah.... The word Turk, as the name of Noah's son, denotes a single person, while as the name of his descendants it denotes the many...."

Al-Kāshgharī does not pursue the matter further, but an amplification of this religious version of the origin of the Turks is to be found in the *Muḥākamat al-lughātain* of Mīr ᶜAlī Shīr Nawāᵓī (d. 1501 A.D.): "When the Prophet Noah was delivered from the disasters of the Flood and once again set foot upon the ground, no traces of mankind remained in the world. Then Noah sent to the land of Khatā [i.e., Khitay or Cathay] his son Yāfith, who is said by historians to have been the father of the Turks. And he (Noah) made Sām, who has been described as the father of the Persians, the ruler of the lands of Iran and Turan; and he sent Ḥām, who is said to be the father of the Hindus, to the land of Hind. The children of these three sons of the Prophet spread and multiplied in the places named. The son of Yāfith was the father [i.e., progenitor] of the Turks. Historians all say that he was a prophet and for this reason was deemed superior to his brothers."

It is interesting to note in passing that in providing this version of their origin the Turks failed to explain the origin of the Arabs, and thus of the Prophet Muḥammad himself, although they did so for the Greeks (Rūm). On several occasions Al-Kāshgharī explains that Rūm is not only the name of a numerous people but also the name of their common ancestor, whom he identifies as the son of ᶜIṣū (Esau), the son of Isḥāq (Isaac), the son of Ibrāhīm, commenting on the similar origins and usages of the two words 'Turk' and 'Rūm.'

Judging from the *Dīwān* the Quranic figure who seems most to have made an impression on the Turks is Dhū-l-Qarnain, the mysterious "Lord of the Two Horns" of Surah xviii, who is believed to represent Alexander. The Alexander-legend, of course, had long been a common element of folklore throughout the eastern world, but the designation of the main protagonist of these stories as Dhū-l-Qarnain springs from the Qurʾān. The *Dīwān* indicates that this name was immediately incorporated into their mythology by the Turks. On various occasions Al-Kāshgharī refers at length to the march of Dhū-l-Qarnain across Central Asia and the battles he fought on the way with the Turks.

The first reference describes how the term *öge* became a title of honor among the Turks as the result of a battle they fought with the forces of Dhū-l-Qarnain when the latter was "advancing towards China." From Dhū-l-Qarnain, according to Maḥmūd, the Turks learned how to prepare *tutmāq,* which he describes as a "famous Turkish dish;" unfortunately, he neglects to mention its ingredients, or even to indicate its character. It was also Dhū-l-Qarnain, says Maḥmūd, who had built the five cities of the Uighurs: Sulmī, Qūjū, Janbaliq, Bishbaliq, and Yangibaliq. More significant, perhaps, from the standpoint of folklore is the attribution by Maḥmūd to battles by the Turks against Dhū-l-Qarnain and his army of the circumstances under which the Chigils (one of the principal Turkish peoples) as well as the 22 branches of the Oghuz got their names.

In the Qurʾān the obscure peoples of Gog and Magog (Yājūj and Mājūj) are associated with Dhū-l-Qarnain, and they too were known to the Turks. In referring to China at one point, Al-Kāshgharī remarks that "the city people know Turkish well and write their letters to us in the Turkish [i.e., Uighur] script. But because of the great wall which intervenes and the mountains and the seas near China, the languages of the race of Gog and Magog are not known [to them]." On the world map which forms part of the *Dīwān,* Al-Kāshgharī depicts in the extreme southeast the Wall of Dhū-l-Qarnain and beyond it, ringed by mountains, an area which he labels as the "Land of Gog and Magog." (Cf. Surah xviii, 94-97.)

Although no mention of it is made in the text, another bit of Islamic lore is depicted on the map. The southernmost land area shown is marked Sarandīb (Ceylon) and a spot of red (which Maḥmūd uses to denote mountains) is labelled Jabal Sarandīb where "Adam fell from Paridise." According to Muslim tradition, it will be recalled, when Adam was cast down from Paradise, he fell on a Ceylonese mountain top, still known as Adam's Peak.

The *Dīwān* shows little evidence that by the late 11th century Islamization had had any great effect on Turkish vocabulary through the entry of Arabic loan words. This must be considered natural since the *Dīwān* is in Arabic except for the individual Turkish word entries and the various Turkish phrases, verse fragments and proverbs which

Al-Kāshgharī included to illustrate their use and meaning. That it had occurred to some degree, however, is shown by the vocabulary used in *Kutadgu Bilig*, an Uighur work written by Yūsuf Khāṣṣ Ḥajib in Kāshghar in 1069 A.D. The *Dīwān* does show one vocabulary development connected with Islam. Maḥmūd indicates that the word *chomaq* was used by non-Muslims to refer to Muslims as a group, while the latter used the word *tat* to indicate the former. He also lists several words, for example, *tarkhān*, which he defines as "pre-Islamic" titles.

It must, in all fairness, be noted that the *Dīwān*, in addition to providing evidence of the extent to which Islam had penetrated Turkish life, also shows where it had not. For example, the use of the word 'Allāh' for God might well be considered co-extensive with Islam itself, yet Maḥmūd consistently uses instead the native Turkish word *Tangrī* and notes that among the Arghūs the word *Bayāt* was used. Similarly he uses the Turkish *yalāvach* or *yalāwach* rather than the usual Arabic *rasūl Allāh* in referring to the Prophet.

The Muslim calendar had also made only faint inroads into Turkish life. Since as early as the 6th century A.D. at least the Central Asiatic Turks had been using the Twelve Animal Calendar. Maḥmūd devotes considerable space to this calendar and its workings, and notes in passing that the Turks had no names for the seven days of the week and that Arabic (i.e., Muslim) month names were used only in the cities.

Maḥmūd's map is also revealing in this respect. Even though he was living in Baghdad when he wrote the *Dīwān* he oriented his map according to Turkish usage, i.e., to the east, which the Turks had borrowed from the Chinese. Moreover, the map, which is circular in form, is not centered about Mecca or Medina or even Arabia, as might be expected from a good Muslim, but around the city of Balāsāghūn, then the seat of the powerful Turkish Qarākhānid dynasty. The Holy Cities, in fact, are not shown at all; Maḥmūd contents himself with showing in rough outline the various territories of the Caliphate (Khurāsān, Fārs, Yemen, Syria, Egypt, the Ḥijāz, Iraq, etc.), all pushed together in the south-southwest portion of the map.

It would be presumptuous to suggest that the *Dīwān* provides a complete or even satisfactory picture of the extent to which Islam had penetrated Turkish society by the time of its composition. But the examples cited above are sufficient to show that although Islam was not widely accepted by the Turks until the 10th century it required but a single century for a considerable Islamic influence to creep into their folklore.

Washington, D.C. ROBERT DEVEREUX

The Muqaddimah, An Introduction to History. By Ibn Khaldun, translated from the Arabic by Franz Rosenthal, Bollingen Series XLIII, distributed by Pantheon Books, Inc., New York, 1958, 3 volumes, pp. cxl, 1547, with thirteen plates, bibliography, indices. $ 18.50.

From whatever perspective one looks at Ibn Khaldūn—as the greatest thinker, together with St. Augustine, produced by North Africa; as the leading Muslim philosopher of the late Middle Ages; or as the outstanding figure in the history of the social sciences in the long interval lying between Aristotle and Machiavelli—his stature is immense. Indeed, one enthusiastic admirer, Dr. Arnold J. Toynbee, has gone so far as to claim that "In the Prolegomena (*Muqaddimah*) to his Universal History he has conceived and formulated a philosophy of history which is undoubtedly the greatest work of its kind that has ever been created by any mind in any time or place." It was only to be expected that an age like ours, historically minded, absorbed in the social sciences and faced with catastrophic political, social and economic crises, would pay increasing attention to such a thinker, and in particular to his masterpiece, the *Maqaddimah*. In the last thirty years there have been some remarkable studies on Ibn Khaldūn: by A. Bombaci, F. Gabrieli, H. A. R. Gibb, and E. Rosenthal in Europe; by K. Ayad, S. al-Husry and M. al-Ṭanji in the Near East; and by W. Fischel, M. Mahdi, and N. Schmidt in this country. In addition, attempts have been made to present Ibn Khaldūn more directly to a wider public by the translation of selected passages from the *Muquaddimah*; this was done for English readers by the present reviewer in 1950, for German readers by A. Schimmel in 1951, and for French readers by G. Surdon and L. Bercher in the same year.

However, those who sought a more complete text had to continue to use the century-old French translations of Ibn Khaldūn's Autobiography and *Muqaddimah* published by Baron De Slane in 1844 and 1862-1868 respectively, while those who could read Arabic relied on the Bulaq edition of 1857 or Quatremere's edition of 1858. But those pioneer works, to which three of four generations of scholars are so deeply indebted, are no longer adequate for present needs. First, because the early editors did not have access to some of the most important manuscripts, notably those in the libraries of Istanbul, and their texts were correspondingly imperfect. And, secondly, because the immense progress of historical, geographical, sociological, and linguistic studies in the last hundred years has greatly increased the need for a new translation to replace that of De Slane.

Both these gaps have now been filled by Professor Rosenthal's monumental work, the product of some ten years of unremitting labour. He has examined all the important manuscripts, except the one in Fez, and his translation is based on the firmest of textual foundations. And the apparatus of scholarship that has been used in the preparation of the translation is nothing short of awesome. There is a mass of footnotes which point out textual variations, illuminate obscure passages, elucidate unfamiliar concepts, add a great deal of necessary factual

information, indicate some of the sources from which Ibn Khaldūn may have derived his ideas, and, not least important, refer both to other translations of that particular portion of the text and to recent scholarly works which may help in understanding it. There is an excellent introduction which contains a short account of Ibn Khaldūn's life; a most interesting, but tantalizingly brief, analysis of the leading ideas in the book; and a textual history of the *Muqaddimah*, describing the available manuscripts, editions, and translations.

As regards the style of the translation, Professor Rosenthal put his difficulties as follows: "A work such as the *Muqaddimah*, modern in thought yet alien in language and style, may be presented to the modern reader in one of three ways. It may be translated as literally as the second language permits. The translator may go further and use modern phraseology and style. Or, finally, the work may be recast and given the form it would have had it been written by a contemporary author in the second language.... The present translation was begun in the belief that a mixture of the literal and modernizing types of rendering would produce the most acceptable results. Yet, it must be confessed that with each successive revision, the translator has felt an irresistible urge to follow ever more faithfully the linguistic form of the original." But although this reviewer favors modernization as far as is possible without actual distortion, he never felt that literalness had been carried so far as to result in an archaic style which obscures the profundity and incisiveness of Ibn Khaldūn's thought; indeed, the text flows smoothly and can be read with great enjoyment and its accuracy is, of course, beyond reproach.

An exhaustive bibliography has been prepared by Professor Walter Fischel and there are two full indexes, a general index and one of Arabic terms. It only remains to add that the volumes are beautifully produced and interestingly illustrated, as may be expected from the Bollingen Foundation. During the last hundred years the numerous scholars who wished to study Ibn Khaldūn but could not read him in the original had to rely on De Slane's translation. It is safe to say that, during the next hundred years, Arabists and non-Arabists alike will rely on that of Rosenthal.

Columbia University, New York CHARLES ISSAWI

Chrestomathia Baidawiana. The Light of Inspiration and Secret of Interpretation; being a Translation of the Chapter of Joseph (Sūrat Yūsuf) with the Commentary of Nasir al-Dīn Al-Baidāwī, by Eric F. F. Bishop, with the help of Mohamed Kaddal, Jackson, Son and Company, Publishers to the University, Glasgow, 1957. 8vo. pp. 60. 10/- net.

No Qurʾān Commentary has been more popular, either in the seats of Muslim learning in the Orient, or in centres where Arabic and Islamic studies have been cultivated in the Occident, than the concise and well-informed *Anwār al-Tanzīl* of Al-Baiḍāwī. Since the days of Ludovico Marrucci, indeed, it has been the *vade mecum* of generations of Western students of the Qurʾān, and in the Orient has been the subject of innumerable super-commentaries. Some of us still find it a most useful text for introducing students to the various Muslim sciences. In 1894 D. S. Margoliouth introduced the *Chrestomathia*

Baidawiana by translating into English and elucidating the section of this Commentary set for students of Arabic at the Oxford Examinations, and it is to his memory that the present book is dedicated. Its purpose is to translate, (unfortunately with but meagre notes) the section of Al-Baiḍāwī set for the Glasgow University Examinations. It has quite obviously been a labour of love. Though the book will be useful to students preparing for examination, the English sense is difficult for anyone who does not have the Arabic text before him. The choice of this Surah was doubtless made because it is relatively short and is the only chapter of the Qurʾān which deals with a single subject, the Joseph story. It is one that has considerable interest in itself as well as in illustrating how Muḥammad handled material from Jewish and Christian legend in stories of Biblical characters. But it is by no means so good an illustration of Al-Baiḍāwī's style and method of exegesis as are his comments on the earlier Surahs of the Qurʾān, so that a reader knowing him only from this Surah might well wonder how he came by so great a reputation. It may be hoped that this book will inspire students to explore further the field of Muslim exegesis.

Columbia University, New York ARTHUR JEFFERY

Kitāb al-Tamhīd. By Abu Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Ṭayyib al-Bāqillānī, in Arabic, edited by Richard J. McCarthy, S.J., published by Al-Ḥikmah University of Baghdad, Kalām series No. 1, Librairie Orientale, Beirut, 1957. pp. xiii, 438.

This edition of Al-Bāqillānī's *Al-Tamhīd* is the first Arabic publication made by Al-Ḥikmah University of Baghdad. In spite of possible surprise by some scholars who remember the edition of this work produced by Maḥmūd Muḥammad al-Khuḍairī and M. ʿAbd al-Hādī Abū Rīdah in Cairo in 1947, the editor of this volume explains briefly its importance. The two distinguished Egyptian editors based their work on a Paris manuscript. Two other manuscripts at Istanbul unfortunately were not available to them in 1947. These contain considerable material not found in the Paris manuscript. Since this amounts to more than a hundred and sixty pages in the present book, one can easily understand the importance attached to it. The editor believes that this section was originally in the Paris manuscript and was either lost or stolen from it.

In the preface the editor stresses the important role played by Al-Bāqillānī in the development of Ashʿarite theology and promises further studies. He has already edited *Kitāb al-Lumaʿ* by Al-Ashʿarī, but this work of Al-Bāqillānī is a much more detailed treatise.

In the present edition of *Al-Tamhīd* the long section on the Imāmate has been omitted, because the editor believes it to be a condensation of another work by Al-Bāqillānī. He himself frankly states that he is not interested in that subject.

Those who have seen the 1947 volume will recall that the main concern was with the answers to be given to the objections of star-worshipers, Dualists, Christians, Brahims, Jews and others. One perceives from this the aptness of the full title *Al-Tamhīd fīʾl-Radd ʿala-al-Mulḥidah.*

The portions which did not appear in the earlier edition deal with such subjects as discussions on the denial of the creation of the Qurʾān, the actions of creatures, their ability, God's guidance, belief and Islam, weal and woe, intercession, grace. They occupy pages 212 to 373. In addition to footnotes giving variants in reading, the text is followed by very full indexes. One is able to turn up easily quotations from the Qurʾān, Traditions and poetry. These are supplemented with indexes of sects, proper names and technical terms. Those whose special concern is the development of Islamic theology will anticipate with considerable interest the promised translation of this work. The editor hopes to complete other studies in the contributions of Al-Bāqillānī whom Ibn Taimiyya declared to be "the best of the Ashᶜarite *mutakallimūn*, unrivalled among them by any predecessor or successor."

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania E. E. Elder

Islamic Occasionalism, and its Critique by Averroes and Aqninas. By Majid Fakhry, George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London, 1958, pp. 220, bibliography, index. 21 s.

The abundant literature on mediaeval philosophy includes very few studies of the relation between Islamic and Christian thought. Western students of philosophy scarcely ever read Arabic, and consequently the great influence of mediaeval Arabic thinkers on the Christian tradition has never been accurately defined. This comparative study, then, explores a neglected field.

Professor Fakhry reconstructs (chiefly from Maimonides) the philosophy of the early Muslim theologians, called the Mutakallimūn or *loquentes*. These thinkers, who are a kind of Muslim analogue to the Church Fathers, sought to understand the world philosophically in terms of atomic substances which bear contingent accidents. Just as in Christian philosophy, the question soon arose as to whether the omnipotence of God could be reconciled with the philosophical view that the world has a necessary metaphysical structure. In the celebrated work known to the Latin scholastic tradition as the *Destructio philosophorum*, The Refutation of the Philosophers, Al-Ghazāli proposed the occasionalist thesis that nothing other than God can possibly have any causal efficacy. The ultimate origin of the occasionalist philosophy of the 17th century is to be found in this mediaeval Muslim attempt to defend the omnipotence of God by denying any causality to His creatures.

The most extreme reaction to Al-Ghazāli's anti-metaphysical occasionalism was the necessitarian system of Averroës. After giving a careful account of this controversy in the Islamic tradition, Professor Fakhry concludes with a study of St. Thomas Aquinas' reconciliation of Divine omnipotence with real metaphysical efficacy and activity by creatures. St. Thomas avoids both the philosophical scepticism of Al-Ghazāli, in which the created world has no metaphysical structure of its own, and the quasi-naturalistic world view of Averroës, in which everything happens by necessity. Since the world depends on the original free creative goodness of God, according to St. Thomas, the

causal efficacy of creatures is analogous to, and a reflection of, the first Divine causality.

Professor Fakhry's work is a model of objective scholarship, without partisan concerns, and based on the sources in the original languages, together with all the relevant modern literature. Some minor mistakes of interpretation in no way reflect on the correctness of his major conclusions. It is not quite correct to say that according to St. Thomas, act is equivalent to form, since existence, the most important act of all, is not a form (p. 156). The notion that St. Thomas' metaphysics of analogy is "rooted in Platonism" (p. 175) is much exaggerated, since both the term and the notion of analogy are purely Aristotelian. The author does not distinguish very accurately between pagan neo-platonism and the Christian neo-platonism of pseudo-Dionysius, a very different philosophy (pp. 159, 199). The use of Kantian terminology for the proofs for the existence of God is misleading (p. 91), and does not fit the mediaeval proofs. There are many misprints, including the Greek (p. 129) and Latin (p. 196). This study of occasionalism sheds much new light on the constant intellectual communication between the two great divisions of mediaeval culture, Muslim and Christian.

University of Southern California, Los Angeles PAUL MILLER

Islam: Muḥammad and His religion. Ed. Arthur Jeffery. The Library of Religion, No. 6. Liberal Arts Press, New York, 1958. pp. xviii, 252. Cloth $ 4.00, paper $ 1.75.

The purpose of the series, to which this book belongs, is to provide within a short compass a direct view of the major religions of the world as portrayed in their own writings. In the case of Islam this called for "number of selections from among the many relevant passages in the Qurʾān, the *Ḥādīth*, and later writings, which will serve to make clear the ordinary orthodox Muslim teaching about the Prophet, about his Book, about those things most truly believed, and about those means of grace most commonly practised.... Almost all the selections are from writers who set forth the old classical system of traditional islam ... what the religion of Islam has been through the centuries and still is today for the great majority of practising Muslims." (p. v). The selections are grouped by topics, in six sections: the Prophet, the Qurʾān, formulations of the faith, the doctrines of Islam, the duties of Islam, devotional life. Little attempt was made to represent the Sufi tradition, and modernist interpretations of Islam had to be omitted altogether.

Even within the limits set, the editor and his unnamed Muslim associate faced a severe problem of choice, and confess they omitted many passages they considered of primary religious importance. It may indeed be doubted whether Islam can be presented adequately within a single volume of this size. The passages included, however, are for the most part of high significance, and between them cover most of the indispensable elements of Islam. But there is no statement of the general theory of the *Sharīʿah* and its sources, the *uṣūl*. The absence of political doctrines concerning the Caliphate, *jihād* and the status of non-Muslims, is less serious because of the obsoleteness of

the traditional views. In the section on the uncreated Qurʾān the Ashʿarite doctrine that "what lies between the two covers is the word of God" should surely have been represented. Space for these topics might have been found by leaving out some prayers, some passages on angels and *jinn*, and the "vision of Allāh in the other world" (pp. 98-103) which seems too long for its interest.

All the selections are translated from Arabic sources. The translations from the Qurʾān make no pretensions to style but render the descriptive meaning closely. The editor's introduction and notes are concise and informative. It would have been helpful to have on record the dates of all authors quoted, (only some are given on pp. 83-84.) There is a useful glossary of Arabic terms. The index of Qurʾān citations is less useful; an index of authors quoted would have been of more value. The book has been carefully edited and printed, so that it will satisfy a need that has long been felt by those concerned with its mighty subject.

University of Michigan, Ann Arbor GEORGE F. HOURANI

The Middle East in Transition, Edited by Walter Z. Laqueur, Frederick A. Praeger, New York, 1958. $ 8.75.

In reviewing this book one is, in effect, reviewing some of the more significant periodical writing on the Middle East in most recent years. Of the thirty-six chapters or articles included, more than two thirds have previously appeared, in everything from the *New York Times Magazine* to *Sovetskoe Vostokovedenie,* and are therefore in large part familiar to specialists. Non-specialists may well be scared off by the incredibly high price of the book.

Two major themes run throughout, the first stresses the social changes which have thrown up a new lower middle class which tends to express its aspirations in terms of radical Arab nationalism; and the second deals with selected aspects of Soviet Middle Eastern policy and worries about whether or not Islam is a barrier to the blending of nationalism and communism. The articles themselves fall into two categories, the first type attempting to interpret the events immediately preceding their writing; and the second more leisurely studies of limited scope. The first category proves once again the baffling nature of recent Middle Eastern political events and the bias of most observers. The second category illustrates the predominance of intellectual history among the few social science disciplines that have been brought to bear upon Middle Eastern area studies. Turkey, Iran and Israel are dealt with in single articles which are inadequate although Sir Isaiah Berlin's "The Origins of Israel" is an excellent contribution and not easily available elsewhere.

Of the carefully documented and well balanced studies that will prove of lasting value one should note Charles Issawi's well known "Economic and Social Foundations of Democracy in the Middle East" (largely absent at present); Gabriel Baer's "Egyptian Attitudes Towards Land Reform, 1922-1955" (based on newspapers and books and not otherwise available); Nissim Rejwan's "Arab Nationalism" which

is mainly concerned with the argument carried on in *Al-Adāb* over whether and what kind of ideology is required for Arab nationalism. Rejwan's study is not available elsewhere. Similarly worthy of note are P. M. Holt's excellent "Sudanese Nationalism and Self-Determination;" Sylvia Haim's well documented "Islam and the Theory of Arab Nationalism" (concludes that Islam and nationalism are compatible, but does not seriously consider the social forces behind traditional orthodox Islam and those behind Arab nationalism); and the six consecutive articles on recent Soviet policies in the Middle East dealing respectively with the national front strategy, attitudes toward Islam, cultural propaganda, emphasis on the middle class as against the proletariat, Sultan Galiev's theories of the colonial revolution, and the problem of the proper historical evaluation of Shamil and the resistance of the Caucasus mountaineers against Czarist imperialism. Paul B. Henze's "The Shamil Problem" is not available elsewhere. Although brief and necessarily incomplete in its analysis, some special note should be taken of Morroe Berger's "The Middle Class in the Arab World" particularly because of the clarity and firmness of the frame of reference within which the author constructed his study and the resultant plausibility and unsensational character of his conclusions. Berger's article also is not elsewhere available in its present form.

The value of the book lies in the important articles referred to, which may not be found elsewhere, in the collection of articles on recent Soviet policy, in the emphasis upon social change rather than the politics of intrigue for which the tone is set by Sir Hamilton Gibb's "Factor X", and in the collection, uneven though it may be, of articles on Arab nationalism. In the latter regard materials on the Baʿth Socialist Party are of particular interest and are to be found in the editor's own contribution, "Syria: Nationalism and Communism," in Gebran Majdalani's interesting "The Arab Socialist Movement," and in Rejwan's presentation of the views of Saʿadūn Ḥammādī.

University of California at Los Angeles LEONARD BINDER

Aspects of Islam in Post-Colonial Indonesia: Five Essays. By C. A. O. van Nieuwenhuijze. W. van Hoeve Ltd., The Hague and Bandung (distributed in the U.S.A. by the Institute of Pacific Relations), 1958, pp. xii + 248, $ 5.00.

The present work consists of five independent essays: (1) "Background to Islam in Indonesia: the self-enclosed traditionalism of the 'closed' community';" (2) "Islam in a period of transition in Indonesia: an essay on tendencies and possibilities;" (3) "Japanese Islam policy in Java, 1942-1945;" (4) "The Dār al-Islām movement in Western Java till 1949;" and (5) "The Indonesian state and 'deconfessionalized' Muslim concepts." The author is a member of the Academic Staff of the Institute of Social Studies at The Hague, and during the postwar years was a staff member of the Islamic Affairs Section of the Lieutenant-Governor General's Cabinet in Indonesia.

The first essay is a study in speculative anthropology in which the author elaborates a theoretical model of what happens when an ideal

type of society which he calls "the 'closed' community" is confronted by alien ideas too numerous and too powerfully supported for non-disruptive assimilation in traditional ways. Since it is not certain that the impact of Islam during its penetration of Indonesia was of this character, and since it is highly improbable that the Indonesian societies chiefly affected by Islam bore any real resemblance to "the 'closed' community" described by the author, the relevance of this essay to the understanding of the "background to Islam in Indonesia" is slight.

The remaining essays are of considerable interest, especially for their presentation of a thoughtful and stimulating interpretation of the evolution and content of Muslim belief and opinion in Indonesia by a scholar with a great deal of first-hand experience with the Muslim community of that country. The second essay is a suggestive and often illuminating discussion of the changing position of Islam in Indonesian life and thought, and the attitudes of the Muslim community toward the contemporary problems which Indonesia faces as a nation. It contains a good account of the rise and eventual victory of orthodox modernism in Indonesian Islam, the growth of interest in political action as a means of achieving goals defined by religion, the resultant political division of the Muslim community, and the reaction in Muslim thinking to the attainment of national independence. The next two essays treat particular episodes in the recent history of Indonesian Islam on the basis of contemporary documents. In the final essay, the author discusses the semantic and ideological problems that arise when Muslim politicians attempt to secularize their vocabulary in order to appeal to non-Muslims, while nationalist politicians try to clothe their programs in religiously colored phraseology to win the support of Muslims. The subject is intriguing, and deserves more extended study.

Inasmuch as the field of contemporary Muslim beliefs and attitudes in Indonesia is practically unexplored, a book such as the present one is very welcome. It is clear, however, that the author's presentation does not rest upon a systematic investigation to determine the content and range of opinion within a well-defined population, but is essentially impressionistic. Moreover, the exact identity of the groups to whom certain attitudes are ascribed is not always apparent (the term "Indonesian Muslim" is itself highly ambiguous), nor does the author seriously attempt to validate his description of what Indonesian Muslims think. For these reasons, the author's presentation, and especially his analyses of the interrelationships of attitudes and his discussions of probable ideological developments in the future, fall considerably short of being authoritative. The author sometimes cites documentary sources, but too often this takes the form of a mere list of inaccessible works published in Indonesia, with no attempt to show by citation how these references support the author's statements. It should also be pointed out that the "newspaper report" which the author translates in fn. 2, p. 21, as evidence for the existence of a particular attitude is evidently a piece of humorous fabrication of a type quite common in the Indonesian press. It would be relevant evidence in a discussion of the attitudes of Indonesian journalists, but has no validity in the context of the author's consideration of the attitudes of Javanese villagers. Anyone with a special interest in Indonesian affairs or in Southeast

Asian Islam will want to read this book, but it must be used with caution.

Hartford Seminary Foundation, Hartford, Connecticut RUFUS S. HENDON

The Crescent and the Rising Sun, or Indonesian Islam under the Japanese Occupation 1942-1945. By Harry J. Benda. W. van Hoeve Ltd., The Hague and Bandung; distributed in the U.S.A., by the Institute of Pacific Relations, New York, 1958, pp. 320. $ 5.50.

The author spent seven years in Indonesia, including the period of the Japanese occupation, during which time he was interned in Java by the Japanese as a war prisoner. The book is a doctoral dissertation presented to the Graduate Faculty of Cornell University in 1955. The text is divided into two parts: Part One is a study of the Dutch colonial rule with special emphasis on Dutch Islamic policy and Muslim organization life in the 20th century and covers in a broad sweep the entire period of Dutch colonial control of the East Indies. Part Two covers the forty months of the Japanese occupation and is documented from primary sources, especially from the Indonesian language press during the period of the occupation. From that source verbatim quotations have been included in the text for the purpose of careful documentation.

The author recognizes that there are certain inadequacies in both parts, because it was impossible to consult the official records of the Dutch governmental agency in charge of Islamic affairs. The same applies to the records during the Japanese occupation. The Dutch archives deposited in the colony were largely destroyed during the war.

The book has been written with much care. It deals almost exclusively with Islamic development in the Islam of Java only. However, since more than half of the population of Indonesia are resident in Java, and since it was the center of administration in the colonial era, and also since the chief Islamic groups which have been most involved in shaping Indonesian politics in general have their headquarters in Java, the conclusions arrived at and the basis on which they were constructed apply with almost equal force in the other larger and less populated islands in the Republic. This book gives comprehensive record of the various influences which are molding the political and religious life of the Indonesian Republic. There are exhaustive notes and references to contemporary writers on Indonesia as well as an extensive bibliography. Here is a welcome addition to an all too limited supply of publications on the religious and political life of one of the most important of the new governments in the Southeast Asian area.

Drew University, Madison, N.J. RAYMOND L. ARCHER

Israel and the Palestine Arabs. By Don Peretz, The Middle East Institute, Washington, D.C., 1958. pp. 264. $ 5.00.

The Kingdom of Jordan. By Raphael Patai, Princeton University Press, 1958. pp. 315. $ 5.00.

In different ways the Palestine Arabs provide the starting point for both these books, since the new country of Jordan today contains most of the Arab inhabitants of what was once Palestine. Both these books

are written by Jewish authors who are well informed about Arab affairs, and contain much important information which cannot easily be obtained by the American reader elsewhere. They are both objective in a double sense, for they are serious, intelligent studies upon which the personal views of the author are never allowed to obtrude, and they are written by scholars, each of whom lives outside the country he describes.

Of the two, *Israel and the Palestine Arabs* is the more consistently successful. After a brief, but useful, introduction Dr. Peretz discusses the various attempts at repatriation of the refugees, and examines the reasons why these have come to nothing. He then deals in order with the problem, both social and military, of the Arab minority in Israel, with the very vexed subject of absentee property, and with the question of compensation by Israel and of the blocked Arab accounts. He is always scrupulously fair. He brings out admirably the confusion of the early period when the Arab exodus took the Israelis by surprise. Although he reveals the army as frequently domineering, and as occasionally flatly disobeying a court order, he is careful to relate also the attempts by the *Haganah* to prevent their soldiers looting empty villages. He shows the judges as sincerely anxious to administer the law without partiality, but admits that this has not always been possible. The result is a very useful book, which could be read with profit by the more emotional on both sides. The pro-Arab would learn how many are those in Israel who have struggled to see that the Arabs in their midst shall be treated fairly, and the Zionist would have to admit that the general picture which emerges is, nevertheless, a very unhappy one.

The Kingdom of Jordan likewise contains much that is of value, and is certainly the most comprehensive study of the country yet to appear. The chapter on the Nomadic Tribes and Sedentarization is, for instance, extremely enlightening. However, the book is not without blemishes. The map on p. 24 contradicts the population table on p. 12 in showing Jericho as larger than Nablus, and Amman as very much larger, which is not true. The chapter on political development is weakened by having been written apparently before Sir John Glubb's book was published. This is not, perhaps, the fault of the author, but it is unfortunate. In any case, information about General Templar's visit, correcting the earlier view that he had come out to urge a very unwilling government to join the Baghdad Pact, had already become available. Dr. Patai seems on p. 59 to be not entirely aware of this.

The chief fault of the book, and it is a serious one, is the failure to distinguish between the two halves of the country. Much of the picture of Jordanian life belongs to the East Bank (and is passing even there), but is no longer true of the much more modernized West Bank. One gets the impression that the author is often using material collected originally in Transjordan, even well before 1948, and has extended it, somewhat uncritically, to describe the enlarged country of Jordan. This comes out very clearly on p. 150, when he speaks of an "observation made in neighboring Palestine!" The pictures also contribute to this impression. The photograph of Jerusalem was taken

before 1948, and gives a very false picture of Jerusalem today. The two pictures opposite p. 134 look as if they were taken in Damascus, the top one being completely phoney. No inhabitant of Jordan wears such clothes, and even in Damascus no one in his senses would work in them. The inlay work is not typical of Jordan, and the table is quite clearly finished anyway!

The net result is a book which should certainly be read, but which, equally certainly, must be read with some reserve by those who do not know the country.

Kenyon College, Gambier, Ohio DENIS BALY

Desert Enterprise: The Middle East Oil Industry in Its Local Environment. By David H. Finnie, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass, 1958, pp. 195, bibliography, notes, index to 224. $ 5.00.

As the sub-title to this brief volume suggests, it is largely directed toward the manner in which the various oil companies in the Near East have adjusted to the conditions in which they operate. The first third of the book, devoted to a description of the companies involved and the concessions under which they conduct their business, while well presented, is too condensed to add much to what has already been said at greater length by Caroe, Longrigg, Schwadran, and other writers. But how the companies behave in the political and social environment of the Near East is a topic which needs much fuller treatment than it has received. The survival of the operating companies, the benefits to be derived from the oil produced and royalties paid, and the future of the United States' own position in the Near East are all more closely dependent upon the relations between the companies, and the government and peoples with whom they work, than upon the discovery and exploitation of more petroleum deposits. Mr. Finnie makes a good beginning at fair appraisal of what has been happening in company relations.

On the whole, one must conclude from the evidence he gives that the companies have done a laudable job, particularly since World War II and the reorganization of the industry in Iran in 1954, in providing training and benefits for their employees and in turning over supporting activities to indigenous contractors and institutions. Three outstanding examples have been the Iraq Petroleum Company's housing plan at Kirkuk, the Basra Petroleum Company's sponsorship of an industries' fair in 1954, and the efforts of Aramco's Arab Industrial Division to encourage local entrepeneurs to develop businesses built around contracts with the oil company.

A less demonstrable job has been done in preparing local staff for high-level or policy-making positions. The reason is quite obvious: it is not because the Near Eastern personnel is regarded as incompetent, but because its elevation would be a step in the direction of sharing company control with the local powers, and this in turn would be only a step removed from loss of control altogether. A trend in the direction of a partnership between the concessionaire and the local government, involving not only exploration, production and refining, but also the distribution and marketing of oil products, is one which the oil companies have felt forced to resist, when indeed they have

been willing to face it at all. And yet even the most enlightened program of employee and public relations is not likely to dissolve away this basic issue for the future.

The question of control bears upon a second problem which is recognized by the companies but which so far they have been powerless to influence. This is the frequently shortsighted, and occasionally even subversive use made of the large sums of money paid over to the host governments. The impact of these funds upon the local economies and upon social and political structures is of grave significance to the companies' well-being. Yet so long as they are merely concessionaires they have no direct means of exerting control once the royalties have been paid. If the companies were prepared to shift the basis of operation to a partnership, part of the price they might exact could well be a voice in how the monies are to be spent.

Desert Enterprise is the first of a projected series of monographs to be published under the auspices of the Center for Middle Eastern Studies at Harvard. Contributions to this series will largely be drawn from work done under research fellowships whose goal, in the words of Sir Hamilton Gibb, the Director of the Center, "is the preparation for publication of a monograph which will, directly or indirectly, further an understanding among Western peoples of significant features and problems of contemporary Middle Eastern societies in their internal or international aspects." Mr. Finnie's study makes a good beginning.

Montclair, N.J. HARVEY P. HALL

Le colonisation des plaines du Chélif. By Xavier Yacono. Imprimerie E. Imbert, 26 rue Hoche, Algiers, Vol. I, 1955, pp. 444; vol. II, 1956, pp. 423, maps.

This monumental doctoral thesis (University of Paris) is packed with information gleaned from national and regional archives, including an exhaustive bibliography. It is easy to believe that twenty years of diligent research lie behind it. The Chélif plains represent a consecutive series of valleys in the area between Algiers and Oran. They are no more than 125 miles in total length, but in this limited area may be viewed the entire problem of colonization in Algeria. These valleys and plains were not uninhabited wasteland at the time of the arrival of the French. We learn that the density of population per square mile was as great as that of Russia at that time (vol. I, pp. 63, 207).

The author relates the history of these valleys and plains and makes the ancient times, as well as the more recent past, come to life again. This historian of colonization is also a geographer. He has famous Algerian predecessors, as, for example, E. F. Gautier. In fact, only a geographer turned historian could make full use of all the data pertaining to geology, soil, vital North African problems of water and irrigation, climate and vegetation, etc. These many facts and facets are presented by means of numerous maps, plans and statistics of all kinds. Yacono interprets his data in an excellent manner. He has also elsewhere proved that he is an expert demographist (cf. his "Peut-on

évaluer la population de l'Algérie vers 1830?" in Revue Africaine, tome 98, 1954.)

The problem of colonization is above all one of human conflicts. Amidst the statistics and plans pertaining to the thirty or so colonization centers in these plains, (Orléansville alone counting for one third of the European population) we perceive the clash of cultures and interests. The colonization of populated regions may represent courage, initiative, risk and honesty, but also speculation, exploitation and fears. The superior technique wins in the first round, especially when backed by the authorities. The author presents us with the panorama of the various colonizing efforts: military, political and governmental, and also what has been termed private colonization. We see the capitalist and the poor man. We witness the clash of interest not only between the colonizer and the previous occupant, but also between various colonizing elements, old-timer versus newcomer, birth-right French against Spaniards. Finally 17,000 Europeans came to own approximately half of the land in these plains, although they constitute only one tenth of the population, as elsewhere in Algeria.

Official backing of new colonization stopped in 1924. The Government is now in favor of what might be called "a colonization in reverse" in Algeria, beginning with the 300,000 hectares expropriated from certain very big companies (Société Génevoise, etc.) and including other government-owned land, now to be distributed to Arab and Berber farmers. But that chapter of the history of colonization belongs to a period later than this most recent study. It remains to be seen if some of the land in these plains will be included.

Hartford, Connecticut WILLY N. HEGGOY

History of Egypt 1382:1469 A.D. (Part IV, 1422-1438 A.D.) Translated from the Arabic Annals of Abū³l-Maḥāsin Ibn Taghrī Birdī. By William Popper, Univ. of California Publications in Semitic Philology, Vol. 18. Univ. of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1958, pp. xiv, 217. $ 4.50.

This volume deals entirely with the reign of Al-Malik Al-Ashraf Barsbāi. The sixteen years were full of the arbitrary actions of one of the most successful of the Mamlūk rulers. The history includes a full record of the promotions and demotions of emirs. Al-Malik Al-Ashraf constantly kept people off balance by shifts of various kinds, thus cancelling threats and criticism of his throne, and draining off the wealth of his officials by often making them responsible for the expenses of their departments.

The conquest of Cyprus is a high point of adventure with both sea and land battles, and the capture of King James. Another great expedition wins victories in the land of the Turcomans in Iraq, but it was too costly to be a source of national pride in Egypt. Al-Malik Al-Ashraf enlivened the concept and role of the medieval potentate with his audacious and crude behavior when the ambassador of Shāh Rukh, son of Tamerlane, arrived in Cairo, proposed that the Sulṭān accept the sovereignty of Shāh Rukh, and offered to Al-Malik Al-Ashraf the robe of honor given provincial governors. In the highest rage of his career the Sulṭān has the robe immediately torn to shreds, and the

ambassador severely clubbed and thrown into a pond by the stables, then bundled off home by way of the Mecca pilgrimage. When nothing was heard from Shāh Rukh after this it was widely understood that Al-Malik Al-Ashraf had won a great "diplomatic" triumph.

The gangs of armed ex-slaves who were employed as personal guardsmen by the emirs (many ex-slaves themselves) were sometimes involved in brutal street brawls, as when around 2000 of the Sulṭān's personal mamlūks once attacked the fort-like mansion of a chief emir in order to get revenge on his men for a murder. The Sulṭān did not try seriously to discipline his men, though they put the city into disorder and terror. Ample documentation is hereby found for the remarks made in his Philosophy of the Revolution by President Nāṣir that the whole Mamlūk period had left a negative attitude in the hearts of the citizenry toward active participation in government.

Taxation tended to be whimsical and tyrannical, so private enterprise decreased. But the control of government was secure and the land in general profited from this stability. The description of two great plagues still carries the emotional tensions of those days. The dying Sultān's order that his doctors be cut in two at the waist and its execution, though one struggled against it, bring the word "cruel" into even such a history. Indeed, the factual record of this forceful reign charts an extraordinary human heritage in which Ibn Taghrī Birdī feels that "on the whole his virtues were more numerous than his faults." A full table of contents helps make this a fine volume of horror and adventure.

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Hardford, Connecticut

James W. Pollock

Political Thought in Medieval Islam By Irwin I. J. Rosenthal, Cambridge University Press, New York 1958, pp. xii, 324, appendix, notes, glossary and index. $ 6.50.

Though the subject matter of the book may seem somewhat remote, in actual fact it is highly relevant to problems of today. In spite of violent ups and downs, the history of the Muslim Near East shows a continuity far more marked than that of most European nations. Even in the 20th century the life of the average Muslim, from Morocco to Egypt and Afghanistan, is still dominated by the Qurʾān and the Law derived therefrom. The role of a Jamāl ʿAbd al-Nāṣir or Muḥammad V of Morocco cannot be understood without some reference to the political theories and practices that have preoccupied the Muslims from the days of the *Rāshidūn* down to those of the Seljūqs. For the doctrines of not only the *khilāfah* and *imāmah* but even of *mulk*, or rulership, were the result of religious precepts. It would be most unrealistic for a western observer to assume that because the political philosophy that inspires ʿAbd al-Nāṣir or Muḥammad V may appear purely secular, it is concerned only with the "now" and disregards the "hereafter." Even as "modern" a historian as Ibn Khaldūn regarded concern for the hereafter as a pre-requisite for a Muslim ruler.

While it would be unfair to criticize the author for his silence on the modern relevance of Islam's political theories, it seems nevertheless regrettable that he should have said nothing about the inevitable lack

of secular political philosophies and, hence, of genuine political parties, in the modern Near East or about the effect of *khilāfah* and *imāmah* doctrines upon present-day political life in the Muslim world. What he has done, instead, is to give a survey of Islamic doctrines of the state as propounded by statesmen, such as Niẓām al-Mulk, historians as Ibn Khaldūn, and *falāsifah*, such as Al-Fārābī, Ibn Sīnā, Ibn Bājja and Ibn Rushd. Though his survey may not be comprehensive enough for the specialist, it will be of decisive help to those with only a superficial knowledge of the subject under discussion.

One of the book's central concerns is to elucidate the influence of Aristotelian and Platonic political concepts on the *falāsifah* and their attempt to reconcile them with those gained from Quranic revelation. As the author shows, this attempt never really succeeded, as indeed it could not have done. For it represented but one aspect of the perennial conflict between the truth of revelation and the truth of reason, in fact of the supposed 'double truth' of Ibn Rushd. This conflict was by no means a monopoly of medieval Islam. We find it several hundred years later in J. J. Rousseau's vain attempts to hide the truths of philosophy and science from the masses by letting them germinate in the secret ivory towers of specialists.

To become fully effective, a scholarly book whose subject might induce a dry and pedestrian style calls for a certain vivacity or elegance of language. Mr. Rosenthal's book, unfortunately, can claim neither of these virtues. Its easy flow is, moreover, impeded by a recurrent repetitiveness. Once, however, this criticism is stated, it must be emphasized that the book is the fruit of wide reading and solid scholarship. Its appearance must be welcomed by all those interested in Islamic thought and politics. The 80 pages of Notes will prove of real assistance to students of the subject. But its chief value derives from the fact that it offers a clear illustration of the different ways in which the *falāsifah* coped with the political theories of their great master Plato.

College of the Pacific, Stockton, California ROM LANDAU

Muslim Law of Succession and Administration. By I. Mahmud. Pakistan Law House, Kutchery Road, Karachi, 1958, pp. v, 237. RS. 15.

In article 198 the Constitution of Pakistan (adopted in 1956) provided for a Law Commission to adjust existing law to the principles of Islamic law. The present study is an interesting and learned attempt to analyze the basic assumptions of the Muslim law of succession as administered in Pakistan and India and to indicate the changes that would be required to bring it into conformity with the injunctions of the Qurʾān. The key passage (a selection of Surah iv. 12) which prescribes that inheritances are to be conveyed "after any bequests (the deceased) may have made or debts (have been paid)" is developed in tune with certain early pronouncements of authoritative Muslim legists into what the author calls the "basic theory of succession evolved by Muslim law" viz., "the theory of the fictitious survival of the deceased in the succession." This theory is in flagrant contrast with the theory underlying Roman and French succession,

viz., "that the heir fictitiously continues the person of the deceased." (p. iii)

On the basic of the original sources (and with especial consideration of Ḥanafī law), the author endeavors to formulate the correct rules of Muslim law applicable to the succession and administration of an estate (a good summary of the findings is presented on pp. 168-170). He then compares those rules with actual Pakistani and Indian practice and explains, to a certain extent at least, the causes that have led to what he considers deviations from the norms of the *Sharīʿah* to which he hopes Muslim legislation will return. (p. v) The author makes it clear, however, that it is not merely ideological requirements that demand a revision of existing laws, but more importantly the fact "that the principles of the genuine Muslim law of administration of deceaseds' estates are certainly more just and equitable" than those currently applied. (p. 218) The reforms which the author advocates touch the following areas: (i) The law of wills and life estates: ((ii) Rules regarding the administration of the property of minors; (iii) Probate and administration of the estate when all heirs are adults; (iv) Rules of inheritance. Such reforms, one is led to feel, are intended as one step toward the Islamization of personal law as a whole. Although the author is clearly a very competent and well-informed lawyer, rather than a jurisprudent, he insists that serious and intense research into the classical works on the *uṣūl* as well as the *furūʿ* of *fiqh* will have to precede the revision of current usage. English translations of the principal Arabic texts are urgently needed. Those translations "would uncover a wealth of hitherto hidden legal information. It would create new interest and encourage academic research, these being two essential requisites to the judicious evolution of the law." (p. 222)

University of California, Los Angeles G. E. VON GRÜNEBAUM

Anadolu Evliyalari (Saints of Anatolia). By Nezihe Araz, illustrated, Fatiş Yayın Evi, Istanbul, 1958, pp. 379, Ltq. 25.00.

Anadolya Evliyaları appeared first as a newspaper serial and created great sensation and interest throughout all Turkey. Hundreds of letters came to the author urging her to continue the series indefinitely, sending in names of many a known and unknown *evliya* (saint) who lived and worked in Anatolia.

In fact the book is of a unique character. In classical literature we have the stories of lives and deeds of saints in *Evliya Tezkireleri* (Biographies of Saints), but in modern literature Nezihe Araz is the first author attempting to approach such a rich and fascinating subject.

As Nihad Sami Barnarlı says in his review of the book, "The fact that a country has such an uncountable number of saints in its history, is proof that faith in that country has a very sound foundation and a great power of life... As no nation can exist without faith, especially a people like the Turkish nation whose entire life has been kneaded in struggles of faith, what should be the foundations of our national and religious faith for the renewal of which there is such a great need in our time...?"

The writer herself is deeply religious. She has studied her subject carefully, and has tried to penetrate into the lives of the saints with

great insight. "What is the beautiful, what is the ugly? Where is the good? Which the right, and which the wrong? Where does goodness begin, where does evil start?" she asks, and then goes on to say: "Our generation has always been in a state of trial and an aim in seeking the answer to such questions is to fit ourselves in the new conditions of our life. The problems I have chosen and tried to deal with are connected with these conflicts and crises. This has been my purpose in writing "The Story of Fatih's inner life," and "Ken'an Rifai and Islam in The Light of The Twentieth Century" prepared in unison with my three friends, was written with the same purpose. *Anadolu Evliyaları* is the book of those who have reached the happiness of living stable, peaceful and unselfish lives, the heroes of the Turkish people."

Nothing can introduce this book better than the words of the writer herself as we read them in the preface: "Anatolia is the home of saints. Whether you happen to be in its great cities or in its remotest corners, you will find a friendly smile in your hopeful moments; in your moments of despair, a great mausoleum, a small tomb, or an old event repeated as a legend, will greet you, offering a spark of courage... The Turkish people keep their streets clean in the name of their saints, live in peace with their neighbors in their name. On joyful days, they hurry to gladden the hearts of the poor. In brief, these saints are beings who have a place in the whole of life, and whose own lives are renewed daily."

"You may happen to be traveling wearily in the endless loneliness of a steppe, you will come across a gray, tiny village with its small earth or brick houses. A white minaret, a green poplar is the only ornament of the village. You will wonder what the name of this village is. They will give you some name like Yalinjik, or Keskin or Akbıyık or Hajili, etc. If you are curious enough, you will soon find out that either in the mosque yard of that little minaret, or under the fine shadow of that green poplar is the resting place of a saint, Yalın Dede, Keskin Dede [1], Akbıyık Sultan [2], etc.... Then ask any one, young or old, he will tell you the story right on the spot. There is a legend to each one of them."

"No two of the saints of Anatolia resemble each other in character. Some are quick-tempered, some are quiet and good-tempered; some are jealous, some humorous, some generous, some kind, other serious or tender-hearted. One point only is the same in the character of them all, they are invariably in love with God, and have a passion for the right, the just and the beautiful; and they have lived and fought for these great divine gifts. Should you strip them of all the legends, stories and miraculous deeds, this truth will always stand in the light. None of the saints of Anatolia has lived his life for his own sake; they have afforded to those around them an example of the way a good life should be led according to their own circumstances." "All our saints were champions, enlightened, active, affable, forgiving, and tolerant. All of them were diligent, unpretentious and especially

[1] Mystical order's chief or a dervish.
[2] Used as a title of respect.

humble. 'Just a cloak and a stick' has not attained perfection in seclusion, but by living amid the hustle and bustle of everyday life."

"When we were little children, every time our families moved to a new quarter or town, the first thing our elders did was to enquire about the saints of that place, and then about the poor people of the district. On the first night, the family would assemble together and the head of the house would chant the Qur'ān for the saints, and then turn his interest to the poor. Thus, from those early days of my life, my ears and heart were filled with the saints of Anatolia. Since then, wherever and for whatever reason I went to some place, I had the local people tell me of their district saints, thus treasuring all I heard throughout the years. One day I discovered that the number of these great men threatened to surpass that of the living. Here were Sarı Saltuk, Emir Sultan, Eyyüb Sultan, Pîr Sultan Meskez Efendi, Şeyh Galib, Karaca Ahmed; and the women saints, Sarı Ana, Karyağdı Hatun, Üç Kızlar (the three girls), Çifte Gelinler (the two brides), Tavus Hatun, etc. In fact, in order to have an idea of our saints, it is enough to cast a glance around Istanbul!"

"This book consists merely of a few lives chosen from all those elect ones. No chronological order nor any spiritual degree was taken into consideration, in classifying the stories. In my opinion, all these great ones have the same mixture and the same essence, and are fine, noble and lovable."

Anadolu Evliyaları begins with Ahmed Yesevi, the 12th century mystic of Turkistan whose fame went far and wide and whose order of dervishes had an immense influence. The book ends with a short biography of the late Ken'an Rifai, a great mystic and religious teacher of the present century. The style in which the book is written makes delightful and easy reading, carrying one deeper and deeper into the higher realm of life where many a mystical soul found peace.

Istanbul SOFI HURI

People of the Reeds. By Gavin Maxwell, Harper and Brothers, New York, 1957, pp. 224. $ 4.50.

This personal narrative of the author's trip into "the marshes" was written for the general public. It is interesting reading because of the author's pleasing style and the uniqueness of the place visited. It is a rare privilege to visit the Marsh Arabs in South Iraq. To have been able to do so with Wilfred Thesiger, whom the Marsh Arabs accept almost as one of themselves, was a double opportunity.

The author began this trip in January 1956, to see and to describe "somewhere that was not already suburbanized and where there was still something left to see that had not already been seen and described by hundreds or thousands of my kind before me." The description of the country is quite accurate and one marvels anew at the people's simple lives and meager material resources. But one should not expect complete accuracy in describing first observations. Several errors are noticeable. In commenting on the women's clothing, for example, he mentions, "... the 'abba' that corresponds to the man's 'dish-dasha'..." The casual reader may not appreciate the error, but to those who know the country or language, it is obvious enough.

The Marsh Arabs are down-to-earth people. This is inevitable, given their environment and mode of living. However, the author emphasizes unduly the physical and the sexual. With superficial acquaintance he sees the outward aspects of life while failing to comprehend the heart of the people. The reviewer was reminded of Pearl Buck's first book, "The Good Earth." Many people asked, "Is it true?" And the answer was, "In part, very true. But it is not the whole truth." One could wish for a presentation of the beautiful as well as the unsightly.

The small pen drawings at the chapter endings are delightful and realistic and the sixteen very fine black and white photographs in the center of the book are excellent and almost worth the price of the volume.

Kuwait JEANNETTE VELDMAN

Ethiopic and South Arabic Contributions to the Hebrew Lexicon. By Wolf Leslau, Vol. XX, University of California Publications in Semitic Philology, University of California Press, Berkely and Los Angeles, 1958. pp. 76, $ 1.75.

This study is primarily a list of words, drawn from the languages indicated, which appear to have some possibility of correspondence. With Hebrew as the control language, there are listed somewhat over a thousand words from Ethiopic dialects and scarcely over a hundred words from modern South Arabic dialects (not the epigraphic South Arabic of antiquity). This list is to be used as a supplement to the standard Hebrew lexicons, Ludwig Koehler's *Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti Libros* and the Frants Buhl edition of the Gesenius *Hebräisches und Aramäisches Wörterbuch über das Alte Testament.* It is with Koehler's etymological comparisons that Leslau takes greatest exception and the student will went to consider these suggested corrections or additions to the Koehler lexicon.

Leslau's work must be welcomed as a part of the increasing knowledge of Semitic etymology. Archaeological discoveries of recent years have contributed valuable linguistic material from the more northern areas. As a complement we have a growing body of information from the southern area of Semitic languages where, not only in the literary languages but in the spoken dialects of South Arabia and Abyssinia, vocabularies exist of great interest to the Semitic lexicographer. In this study Leslau places the emphasis upon Ethiopic material. While words are included from at least eight dialects the bulk of the vocabulary is from four; Geez (no longer spoken), Tigre, Tigranya and Amharic. In the South Arabic group he presents material from the spoken dialects, Mehri, Šḥauri and Soqoṭri.

As Leslau is fully aware, there are serious problems involved in the use, for etymological comparison, of spoken dialects where literary attestation is unavailable. We have only the intensification of the ever present danger in all comparative word study, the temptation of "the guess" based upon the mere coincidence of similarity of sound. This, in the hands of an amateur, can be a fallacious game. But Leslau is no amateur. He is a recognized scholar in the field of Semitic philology and is well known for his research with Ethiopic dialects. His interest in the South Arabic dialects is evidenced by various publica-

tions, a good example of which is his *Lexique Soqotri (Sudarabique moderne)*.

The present state of research in this area leaves many questions to which conclusive answers cannot be given. There is no real consensus in respect to the interrelationship of these dialects or their kinship to the other groups of Semitic languages. There is the constant complication of the prevalence of Arabic in these areas, presenting the possibility that many word comparisons can merely be ascribed to the obvious Arabic influence. By the same token, scholars will continue to disagree over specific derivations. Nevertheless, work in this area must be advanced and Leslau's contribution is gratefully received.

Perkins School of Theology KERMIT SCHOONOVER
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Excavations at Nassana. Vol. 3: Non-literary Papyri. Ed. by Casper J. Kraemer, Jr., Princeton University Press, Princeton, N. J., 1958, pp. xxiii + 355 + 8 Plates. $ 7.50.

In 1935 H. D. Colt found at Auja el-Hafir a considerable number of papyri, dating from the 6th and 7th centuries, when the place was named Nessana. The detailed account of the excavation of the site has not been published; it will be Vol. I of the report. The literary papyri, thirteen in number and including portions of the Gospel of John and the Pauline epistles, were published in Vol. 2 (1950). Vol. 3 contains non-literary papyri, numbered 14-195, most of which are quite fragmentary. They were found in storerooms of two churches of the city.

The papyri give a valuable picture of life in Nessana just before and after the Muslim conquest. From about 400 A.D. the people of Nessana were mainly of the Christian faith; there were three or four churches in a town which had at the most 1500 inhabitants near the end of the 7th century; there is no evidence of religious war or persecution in this place. But the coming in of Arab rule and the fading of Nabataean names and influence can be traced.

Numerous aspects of life are illuminated by these papyri. For example, for a period beginning perhaps about 450 A.D., there was a native militia, a "mobile guard" that could be used as needed in this region and permitted to live in normal community life the rest of the time. Requisitions of camels were made when needed. Caravan trade passed through Nessana; a large khān was found there. Letters, accounts, tax receipts, a tax protest, a petition, loans, business contracts, marriage contracts, divorce agreements, labor contracts, partition of property, directions to provide guides for pilgrimage to Mt. Sinai, records of sale of dates (evidently raised in quantity around Nessana), a church offering report, a prayer — such are the subjects covered. That these papyri were found in church storerooms illustrates the role of church leaders of Nessana in the varied life of the community. Some evidence on the amount of taxes and on the yield of grain in farming ("barley over 8 fold and wheat 7 fold"; see p. 238) is worth noting. The cultural decline of the community is reflected in the poor spelling and writing of later papyri. The site was abandoned by the middle of the 8th century. Reading such fragmentary papyri

is rather frustrating, but the fragments are highly instructive and they are ably edited and discussed.

McCormick Theological Seminary, Chicago, Illinois FLOYD V. FILSON

Ths Preservation of Youth. By Moses Maimonides. Translated from the original Arabic (*fī Tadbīr al-Ṣiḥha*) and with an Introduction by Hirsch L. Gordon, M.D. Philosophical Library, New York, 1958, pp. 92, $ 2.75.

This first English translation of a work of the great Jewish philosopher, commentator, and codifier makes available to the general public a knowledge of another side of his contribution to his day and time: that of a physician. This work was composed in 1198 A.D. while Maimonides was in Egypt, for the use of Sulṭān al-Afḍal, son of Saladin who complained of digestive difficulty and of depressed moods. Though couched in rather quaint language, which the translator has seen fit to preserve, this monograph has many of the characteristics of a personal note to the Sulṭān. It reveals Maimonides as a careful, rather cautious medical man, acquainted with and relying upon the best medical thought and tradition of his day and regarding his role as that of assisting nature to restore or achieve health. He is suspicious of over-medication, counsels caution in adopting untried or unproven home remedies, and recognizes the importance of optimistic mental attitudes in achieving and maintaining health. In this vein he reminds his royal patient that moderate living, regular habits, and religious devotion tend toward good health and equanimity of mind. "Those engaged" says he "in study and absorbing philosophical habits and the moral teachings of the Torah acquire strength for their souls.... The more a man is disciplined, the less he is affected by both extremes, good times and bad ... so that when he is favored by a good fortune ... he does not get excited nor appear particularly great and good in his own eyes. And when great misfortune and tribulation befall him, ... he is neither startled nor terrified, but tolerates them well." (p. 63). His balanced views and his high ideals with reference to medical treatment make this book of much more than passing interest.

Southern California School of Theology, Claremont, California WILLIS W. FISHER

Al-Nashrat al-Thaqāfiyyat al-Miṣriyyah. (Egyptian Cultural Publication), in Arabic, Ministry of Education, Cairo, Egypt, First Quarter, 1957, pp. 301.

An adequate understanding of the Near East requires some acquaintance with the contemporary writing in the Arab world. For the scholar in America it is not easy to know what books are being published. Furthermore, it is an endless task to sift known titles and to procure significant books. As a result, the average Arabic scholar in America reads little of what is currently being written or is dependent upon a few items which may come to hand by chance. Even in the large capitals of the Near East it is not easy to sift the vast product of the modern printing presses. Only a few of the publishing houses issue catalogues and the whole situation of contemporary bibliography is, at best, complicated. It is this situation which makes such a volume of book notices so interesting. The publication is a project of the

Ministry of Education in Egypt. Issued quarterly, it is, according to the fly-leaf, "distributed without charge to cultural agencies and personnel in Egypt and abroad." Books published during the quarter are listed and a brief summary of the contents is given. These digests are often a page or two in length and give a fair indication of the nature of the book. As is proper in a volume of this kind, there is no attempt at critical evaluation. Indeed, the critical review, as known in the West, can seldom be expected in Arabic journals.

Publications are listed under subject divisions: sociology, belles lettres, economics, history, education and psychology, geography and travel, government and war, agriculture, journalism, health and medicine, science, philosophy, fine arts, law, language, engineering and general knowledge. Many lectures, research papers and articles from periodicals are also included in these categories. These choices must, of course, be limited. However, this furnishes a good view of what is taking place in Egyptian cultural circles beyond that of book publication.

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SHORTER NOTICES

Les Fins Dernières selon la Théologie Musulmane. By Louis Gardet, in Revue Thomiste 1956, No. 3 (Desclée de Brouwer et Cie., Paris).

The development of the theme of Muslim eschatology usually begins with the Qurʾān and Traditions. This is appropriate. However, the study should not terminate with these sources. Prof. Louis Gardet of the Collège Philosophique Saint-Maximin, (Var), France, is making a distinct contribution in this field by basing his research in eschatology on the science of *kalām*. Among the classical Muslim authors who served as sources for this study are Al-Ashᶜarī, Al-Juwaynī, Al-Ghazālī, Al-Rāzī, Al-Jurjānī, and the more recent Al-Bājūrī (d. 1277/1861).

The first chapters of the study published in the *Revue Thomiste* cited above include: (1) a study of the period from death to the resurrection, being a treatment of the subject from the viewpoint of anthropology and human destiny; (2) the resurrection of the body, the *maᶜād* at the end of the world, and the assembling (*ḥashr*). The remaining chapters will appear in succeeding issues, and the total work will eventually be published by Editions Vrin, Paris, under the title: *Les Grands Problèmes de la Théologie Musulmane*. It is appropriate to remark here that Prof. L. Gardet is author of the article *Allāh* in the revised edition of the Encyclopaedia of Islam, as well as of numerous other related works.

An Annotated Bibliography af the Egyptian Fellah. By Lyman H. Coult, Jr., with the assistance of Karim Durzi. The University of Miami Press, Coral Gables, Florida, 1958. pp. v, 144. The sub-title is, "An Annotated Research Bibliography of Studies in Arabic, English, and French of the Fellah of the Egyptian Nile, 1798-1955".

The increasing interest in social reform in Egypt is beginning to be reflected in a greater number of scientific studies and praiseworthy achievements in the field. On the topic of the Egyptian farmer some 330 books, dissertations, and magazine articles were chosen out of more than 1000 located in a two-year's effort in Cairo and in Western schools. A useful subject index gives volume and page numbers of the works themselves. Symbols indicate in which library in Cairo the different titles may be found. With full evaluation and comment on the contents of these studies, this book is a guide to important material so far gathered. More and more careful and systematic work is being done by Egyptian students. All but a few of these studies were chosen because they were based on direct field work.

Some Linguistics aspects of the Qumran texts. By Menahem Mansoor, *Journal of Semitic Studies,* vol. iii, no. 1, January 1958.

A report of one phase of Professor Mansoor's important studies in the variations of the Hebrew language (orthography, phonetics, grammar and vocabulary) according to the time and place of writing. These studies will become of major significance to all Hebraists, who will welcome his forthcoming *Basis for a Grammar of the Samaritan Language.*

The Lands Between. By John S. Badeau, Friendship Press, New York, 1958, pp. 138. $ 2.95.

The author, a former University President in the Middle East and now Director of the Near East Foundation, declares that "the Middle East is not so much a geographical area as it is a state of mind — a state of mind that arises principally out of the relation of the region to the outside world". (p. 11) Part 1, "Land and People", contains useful explanatory material and Part concerns "State and Society". A concluding section on "Mosque and Church" provides a useful basis for discussion study. There is a careful index and selected bibliography.

Middle East Pilgrimage. By R. Park Johnson, Friendship Press, New York, 1958, pp. 24, 60 cts.

Maintaining throughout his chosen metaphor of 'pilgrimage', the author covers much of the ground of *The Lands Between.* His book has been produced for study groups in the U.S.A. and interprets the current scene in the area against its historic background. The author draws on a wide and close familiarity with the whole territory. The matters touched upon all call for fuller and more intensive treatment. But as a summary compendium, *Middle East Pilgrimage* achieves what it sets out to do, with competence. The dust cover is disappointing for, apart from the oil derrick in the rear, it has no feature of the 20th century. The contemporary 'pilgrims' are further down the road.

This is the Middle East. By John Blumberg, Friendship Press, New York, 1958, pp. 24 60 cts.

A well illustrated booklet and enriched with the author's own photographs, this book provides only a cursory introduction. It gets better as the reader proceeds.

New Voices, Old Worlds. By Paul Geren, Friendship Press, New York, 1958, pp. 168, $ 2.95.

Here the main interest is biographical. There are portraits of men and women who have served the Near East. In a series of pictures of unassuming, sacrificial lives, Dr. Geren measures the cost of ministry and stirs his readers to grateful recollection and enthusiasm. In this day when so much is heard of the political, and headlines, with the passions beneath them, are strident and cynical, it is well to have this manual of freely willed human investment in the service of humanity.

Fajr al-Masīḥiyya. By members of the Christian Writers' Fellowship, American Press, Beirut, 1956, pp. 190.

This volume is the second produced by the Fellowship which is sponsored by the Arabic Christian Literature Committee of the Near East Christian Council. In contrast to the first volume which covered a variety of subjects from the Qumran Scrolls to the present literacy campaign in the Near East, especially in Egypt, this book deals almost entirely with subjects related to the dawn of Christianity. The authors are about equally divided between Egypt and the Lebanon-Syria region. Some are leaders in the Evangelical churches while others are connected with ancient Orthodox communities.

The chapters, written in each case by a different author, include the following subjects: The Religious and Philosophical Situation, the Political and Economic Situation, the Early Church, the Spread of the Christian Message in the Early Period, the Early Christian Fathers and their Writings, the Centers of Propaganda, Jerusalem, Antioch and Alexandria, Monasticism, God, the Father and the Son in the Apostles' Creed, Early Christian Antiquities and the Victory of Christianity. As there are too few books on early church history in Arabic, this publication is a welcome addition.

Listen to the Wind. By Douglas Webster, The Highway Press, London, 1958, pp. 141, paper, 2/6.

John's letters to the seven Churches, as recorded in Revelation, provide the point of departure for the author's account of seven modern churches: in West Africa; East Africa; the Middle East; Pakistan; India, Kashmir and Ceylon; East Asia; the Church at home. The first and 20th century churches present analogies, not the least obvious of them being the need of the Holy Spirit. This brief work attempts to point to the working of the Spirit in modern churches and mission situations. The center of interest is particularly C.M.S. groups.

Muhammad, and the Islamic Tradition. By Emile Dermenghem, Men of Wisdom Books, translated from the French by Jean M. Watt. Harper and Brothers, New York, 1958, pp. 192, illustrations, paper. $ 1.50.

A straightforward exposition of the life of Muḥammad is followed by a treatment of the extension of Islam, its beliefs and practices, sects, jurisprudence, and finally the renaissance of Islam. The third section is devoted to translated texts from the Qurʾān, Traditions, Ibn Khaldūn, Al-Ghazāli, the mystical poets and others. Numerous illustrations, as in the French edition published by Editions du Seuil, Paris, 1955, render the volume particularly pleasing. It has value as a work of initiation in the elements of Islam.

Documents, Soviet Russia's Anti-Islam Policy in Turkestan. By Dr. Baymirza Hayit, published by Professor Dr. Gerhard von Mende, Leader of the East-european Research Service, Düsseldorf-Köln, Germany, 1958, pp. 48, paper, map.

In reply to Soviet claims of freedom of religion, the author advances documents concerning the Soviet Russian anti-Islamic policy in Turkestan. These documents have been selected among many which have appeared in the Soviet Turkestan Press and they are assumed to reflect the official view.

Arab Dawn. By R. K. Karanjia, Blitz Publications, Bombay, 1958, pp. 267, Rupees 7.50.

Readers of *Blitz* will know what to expect from this work on Suez and kindred topics from the editor. It is a delirious and somewhat vitriolic book and yet for all that a symptom of the passion and verve that inform anti-imperial solidarity in Asia. One cannot expect complete accuracy. The Ummayyad Caliphate is said for example on page 3 to date from 621 A.D. that is, a year before the Hijrah. The

writer seems also to have forgotten how Arabs prior to the First World War regarded the Ottoman Empire. The perspective in that connection is very much foreshortened by the criticism of the mandatory regimes. "A Century of Piracy and Plunder" sums up the relations of the West with the Arab World as understood by Mr. Karanjia. He approves the technique of labelling anything that disagrees with his analysis the work of imperialist 'stooges.' But one cannot really write history, even contemporary history, merely with epithets.

Sociologie de l'Algerie. By Pierre Bourdieu, Presses Universitaires de France, 1958, No. 802 of the collections *Que sais-je?*, pp. 128, map.

The present complex status of Algeria may be more readily comprehended by a knowledge of the fundamental social structure. The author's purpose is to delineate the steps by which the situation of today has evolved, objectively and with due consideration to its humanitarian aspects. The social structure and culture of the Kabyles, Chaouias, Mozabites and Arabic-speaking people generally, whether sedentary or nomad, are described. In spite of diversity and though in the midst of cultural exchange, there are stabilizing elements of traditionalism which, however, are now being opposed by modern innovations. Sociologically, Islām is admirably adapted to Algerian civilization. But the alarming phenomenon is the social disintegration coincident with colonization and the consequent upheaval and conflict, a chapter all too briefly treated. The last paragraph, in which "assimilation" is excluded as a valid principle today, deserves serious deliberation.

The Procession. By Khalil Gibran, edited, translated and with a biographical sketch by George Kheirallah, Philosophical Library, New York, 1958, pp. 74, illustrations. $ 2.75.

Admirers of Khalil Gibran will welcome this small volume of his poems translated from the Arabic into English and characterized as "his hidden masterpiece of Arabic poetry." It consists in a dialogue on the meaning of life's experiences between a seasoned sage and a youth with reed in hand. To the translator, "the poem represents the unconscious autobiography of Gibran: Gibran the sage, mellowed beyond his years, and Gibran the rebel, who had come to believe in the Unity and Universality of all existence and who longed for simple, impersonal freedom, merged in harmony with all things."

Youth sings: "Give to me the reed and sing thou!
For the song is gracious shade,
And the plaint of reed remaineth
When illusions dim and fade."

Accompanying the Arabic text and translations are eight reproductions of Gibran's mystical drawings and a delightfully penned biographical sketch of the artist-author.

Heroes of Islam Series. Ten Short Biographies of the heroes of Islam. By Prof. Fazl Ahmad, Publisher, Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf, Kashmiri Bazaar, Lahore.

This series of books in convenient pocket size give in simple English the story of Muḥammad, the four Early Caliphs, Khālid ibn

Walīd, and then of four characters who were especially concerned with the spread of Islam in India: Muḥammad Ibn Qāsim (Alamgir Aurangzeb), Maḥmūd of Ghaznī and Sulṭān Tippu. The author's aim in producing the booklets, which average over a hundred pages per volume, was to inspire Muslim youth of high school age to know something about the individuals who have been leaders in the spread of their religion. "Every school library must have several copies of this set of biographies. Every student must read each of the books again and again. It will give him a new awareness of himself and his world."

The writer in no way attempts scholarly statements with authorities cited. His idiomatic style leads him to describe conditions during Othman's rule in terms like "Kufa in the Grip of Hooligans" and Abū Dhārr Ghaffān as the "communist companion." The Indian commander who is described as having received bribes from the British in the days of Sultan Tippu is pictured as "playing a dirty game."

There is no effort to minimize the martial role played by these heroes. In fact military courage, prowess and valor are the characteristics most highly praised.

For Islam. A Christian Plea. By W. C. Lowndes, printed for private circulation, R. I. Severs, Cambridge, England, 1958, pp. 55.

A collection of essays and meditations, together with prayers and litanies, arising from the author's earnest concern for the Muslim Christian situation. Its disjointed and somewhat aphoristic nature makes it difficult to assess. But then it is described as a 'plea' not a treatise. It is as if the writer published his note book, sketched a spiritual duty and left the rest to his readers. The essential idea is the familiar one that Islam can properly be seen and assessed in terms of a Christian heresy. Historically and theologically there is no doubt something to be said for this view. If it is meant to indicate closeness of affinity and common themes, it is sound enough. But as a total thesis about Islam it does much less than justice to its own inner momentum and its rugged self-sufficiency. Some of its attitudes may have roots in Christian heresies but its characteristic nature is best thought of as a new religion.

For all that, despite a few pardonable inaccuracies, this 'plea' is welcome evidence of a spontaneous concern the urgency and incisiveness of which are exemplary for us all.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

Morocco. Morocco, along with Tunisia, was admitted on October 1, 1958, to membership in the Arab League. A week before this, on September 22, King Muḥammad V of Morocco inaugurated the second "Operation Plough" program which is designed to cover 868,850 acres of land.

The "Operation Plough" program of last year was declared to be a real success for the economic and social advances so ardently desired, especially in the field of agriculture. This was a project to increase the food supply through individual initiative and cooperative effort with the help of modern machinery and new techniques. It was but a part of a vast scheme launched by the government to improve the general welfare. The 1957-58 program achieved the cultivation of 410,300 acres. Thirty-six thousand farmers were involved. They agreed to the temporary abolishment of their land boundaries, grouping small plots into larger units, to permit the use of heavy machinery. Produce increased 485 lbs. per acre in the land so operated, or approximately 62% over plots not affected by "Operation Plough." Employment, private income and national revenue have increased. For the 1958-59 season "Operation Plough" will utilize 450 new tractors and other new machines. It will involve the introduction of fodder crops to improve breeding and a better rotation system. King Muḥammad V, in his radio address to the people, said, in part: "We had urged you to cooperate among yourselves, and to collaborate with the experts and advisors from the Ministry of Agriculture in finding the most adequate means for collective use of the large agricultural equipment; also, to try and obtain maximum benefit from the modern techniques liable to produce a better yield, a variety of crops, and a production increase, with minimum labor.

"Needless to say that such an effort must be continued and developed so that you may raise your standard of living, increase the prosperity of the country, and establish national economy on sound bases. For this purpose, we have issued instructions to extend "Operation Plough" over 350,000 hectares this year, and to supply the Agricultural Labor Centers with all the technical equipment necessary for the implementation of the undertaking.

"As in the past, the success of this second experiment depends upon your active participation. Therefore, we encourage all those who have taken part already, as well as those who wish to do so, to form administrative committees and to follow the advice of the experts entrusted to carry out the program. A sucessful outcome will guarantee a sound economy, will allow Morocco to curb its imports of various foodstuffs, and will bring you peace and prosperity." What has been achieved in Morocco, and is continuing, could well be done elsewhere, given the conditions, not only of new equipment and expert advice, but of desire to learn, willingness to cooperate and to labor for the general welfare.

Press Conditions in Turkey. The government group in the Turkish Assembly has formed a special committee to recommend changes in the press law. The majority seems to favor harsher laws, but a substantial minority of Democratic Party representatives have formed an informal independent movement for milder laws. An official report shows that 238 newsmen have been found guilty of violating the press laws in the last four years.

The Mevlana Ceremony. For the tenth successive year the annual festival was held in Konya in the middle of December 1958. Jelaluddin al-Rumi (called "Mevlana") was a 13th century Turko-Persian philosopher and poet mystic and the Mevlevi dervishes, the order he founded, are sometimes called the "whirling dervishes." Before the "sema" or ritual dance, there were speeches this year by a doctor, a professor of theology, a poet-translator, and a newspaper man. The mayor of Konya reported that 400,000 people visited the tomb of Mevlana last year. The visitor cannot walk the streets of Konya without getting the impression that orthodox Islam is strong and powerful. The largest bookstore in town is a religious bookstore. Mosque attendance at midweek was very large. Serious interest in the mysticism of Mevlana was thus expressed by Abdülhamit Gökpınarlı, translator of the works of Mevlana and an authority on Sufism: "He was life itself; he was greater than Islam and Christianity."

A Society for Enlightened Religious Instruction. Peyami Safa, in his daily column in the newspaper *Milliyet,* reports that a private association has been formed, the İlahiyat Kültür Telifleri Basım ve Yayım Kurumu, whose objective is to publish material that will guide uninformed Turkish youth in their religious life, and protect them in their relations with Christians. The religious newspaper *Hür Adam* reports a similar group, called "Türk İslam Matbaacılık ve Gazetecilik Hisseli Komandit Şirketi", which is soliciting contributions for its work. Meanwhle will Aya Sofya be a mosque again? A member of Menderes's government proposed in a speech at Konya that Aya Sofya, long a mosque and now for twenty years a museum, be made a mosque again.

The Turkish Economy in 1958. In August, after three years of fruitless attempt to curb inflation, the Government devalued the lira, following huge rises in transportation charges and very high rates on the lira in other countries. Since then there has been a general increase in prices in Turkey. The foreign loans that came with devaluation have produced a trickle of manufactured goods. A government protective tax on imports has been removed, thus lowering the cost of iron and other heavy materials. This promises to bring lower construction costs in 1959. On March first the government will raise the salaries of its employees by 42 per cent. The farmer seems to have plenty of goods and some money, so his life is not directly affected by the spiral price increases.

Turkish Politics in 1958. The opposition party seems to be stronger than a year age. The Hürriyet party has joined the Halk party, the

chief opposition group. The issues remain the same: political freedom and human rights, particularly freedom of the press, and also relief from economic hardship. The government party has set itself up as the party supporting religion, and promises better days ahead if people will hold on for a little longer.

Religion. New mosques have been built, and old ones repaired. In İstanbul buildings have been cleared away around many mosques so that they stand lord of all that they survey. The greatest religious discussion was that on translation of the Qurʾān, already reported. The sects continue to be in the news, particularly the Nurcular. Konya has emerged as the center of outspoken religious conservatism. There seems to be no large group of men professionally involved in religious activities who are deeply enmeshed both in Islam and in modern thought. The Theological Faculty in Ankara perhaps contains such men, but most of them are non-Turks. There is a large gap between the intellectuals and the people. Possibly in 1959 religious lessons will be extended into the lycees.

Meanwhile Eyup Hayırlıoğlu, who sued several newspapers for their opposition to his views on translating the Qurʾān, has lost all his suits. The courts found no evidence of slander. Also Çerman the editor of the religious magazine, "Reform in our Religion", has been cleared by the courts, and his writings may be sold freely. There is still a proposal before the Assembly that would make it illegal to criticise orthodox religious practices or beliefs. Pilavoğlu, leader of the Ticani dervishes, has been released after eight years in jail. Ten years ago this group were active in smashing busts of Atatürk. Pilavoğlu still faces two eight-year periods of supervised exile. Members of the Halk (opposition) party have proposed that mosque preachers be given an increase in pay out of tax income. The Democratic Party suggest that this should be a local responsibility instead. Thus the Halk Party has come out on what is probably the popular side in a religious question.

Advertisements and the Mevlid. The Mevlid, or poem in honor of the birth of the Prophet, is one of the most popular of forms of religious expression in Turkey. Mevlidhans, men who chant the poems, have now been advertising in the newspapers. Apparently an Istanbul mevlidhan is preferred, even in Anatolia.

Inter-Church. The international and supra-national character of the Church is symbolized by the Interchurch Center, on Riverside Drive between 119th and 120th Streets, New York City, whose cornerstone-laying ceremonies were held on October 12, 1958. This building will serve as headquarters for many Protestant national and international agencies, such as the National Council of Churches, the U.S. office of the World Council of Christian Education and Sunday School Association, etc.

Of the thirty-six churches who will have their headquarters at the Center, the following have their roots in the Middle East: Armenian Church of North America (Diocese), Greek Archdiocese of North and South America, Holy Apostolic Catholic Church of the East (Assyr-

ian), Russian Orthodox, Greek Catholic Church of America, Syrian Antiochian Orthodox Church. That the Orthodox churches should join with the Protestants in this enterprise has national and world-wide significance. In the structure is sealed a small stone from the Agora in Corinth, a gift of the Greek Orthodox Church.

United Nations. Dr. Charles Malik, first Arab representative to be President of the General Assembly of the United Nations, was elected to that office on September 16, 1958 by a vote of 45 to 31 with four abstentions.

Dr. Malik is a graduate of Harvard University, Ph. D. 1937, and was head of the Department of Philosophy at the American University of Beirut from 1943 to 1945. He is a member of the Orthodox Church. Having been elected to the presidency in competition with Muhammad Ahmad Mahgoub, of the Sudan, he referred to the electoral procedure as wholesome, sportsmanlike competition and welcomed it as praiseworthy. In his acceptance speech he said: "The relations that bind Lebanon to the Sudan and to our other sister Arab countries are so deep, and so real and so lasting, that no incident like this wholesome, sportsmanlike event that we have witnessed in the last few days can possibly affect them. We shall always live as brethren, and we shall always endeavor to understand one another and serve one another to the best of our ability.

"And now, we have before us a charged agenda; the issues are many and serious. We should turn our attention to them with all the power and devotion with which we may be endowed, and I do hope and trust that all of us will bear with one another during the next several weeks and months, under a spirit of forbearance and tolerance and patience and understanding and mutual accommodation.

"Under such a spirit and with such an end in view, I trust that the thirteenth regular session of the General Assembly will prove to be a fruitful and successful event in international relations. Let us keep in mind the fact that all that we are doing here is in the service of peace with justice for the whole world."

Social Reforms in Iraq — Dr. Hāshim Barakāt, director General of Social Affairs, said that important reforms in administering the social services were taking place under the new ministry. A board of social services, consisting of the minister and the directors-general of social affairs, social services, health, agriculture, interior and education had been set up to coordinate all the social services. It meets in private once a month.

Last winter one of the problems before it was prostitution. A subcommittee was formed to consider the causes and remedies, both immediate and long term, for this evil. The causes, Dr. Barakat said, are like those in other countries: a girl has a love affair with a boy who subsequently drops her; the unhappy home; parents' second marriage, in which discord develops between wife and daughter-in-law. The prostitute's "protector", or exploiter, is usually a woman with whom the girl makes a contract under duress through real or invented pecuniary debt.

When the police prosecute the exploiter is usually sent to prison and an attempt made to reform the girl.

The ministry aims at getting prostitutes to enter centres where they can be taught to read and write — most are illiterate — and be trained in useful occupations such as dressmaking, domestic work, or typing. On leaving the girls will be found jobs and given money earned during their training to enable them to start afresh.

The government is planning to encourage early marriage by providing marriage loans and is considering whether to establish a bank for this purpose. The highest possible priorities are to be granted to newlyweds in the allocation of new houses. For married couples the government is considering both an increase in the taxation allowances and whether to extend them to benefit more than two children, to which at present these concessions are limited.

A further impetus will be given to the buying of houses through state help which is provided by the government's Mortgage Bank. This provides loans up to 1,500 dinars on houses. An average cost of a house is about 2,500 dinars.

Numerous societies exist chiefly for the benefit of the middle classes for the purchase of houses. Subscribers pay into a fund to buy building plots. An essential condition for a housing loan is that the money advanced will genuinely be used for building. Therefore it is not granted until land for the house has been acquired, the foundations laid, and construction of the walls actually started.

But while the Mortgage Bank fills the needs of many thrifty people and the government is doing an increasing amount of building for the artisan and wage earner, the greatest problem is the housing of the villagers who have left the countryside for the towns. This problem has been caused by neglect of the peasants' interests and their having been exploited by feudalistic landlords, who treated their tenants as 20th century serfs, imprisoning and even flogging them until the revolution.

In Baghdad alone there are estimated to be about 200,000 of these migrants, who had moved in during recent years to create shanty towns of sarifas, which are nothing more than mud and straw huts. They have no water or sanitation. Many of the peasants have come with their buffaloes, cows, goats, sheep, and dogs. Some continue to tend their livestock on the outskirts of the city, sometimes driving their sheep in to feed on the sparse grass and scrub of suburban paths or vacant land. All seek work as labourers or hawkers or whatever they can get in the towns. Many join the army and the police.

Ethics in Commerce in Pakistan. *Al-Islam* writes that at the annual meeting of the All-Pakistan Chamber of Commerce and Industry, Karachi, its president, K. B. Ḥājji Muḥammad Wajīhuddīn, related ethical concepts to mundane affairs. Calling for reform, he said: "In spite of the fact that our actions in the various fields of life — social, commercial, and religious, have to a considerable extent been undesirable and almost such as to invite undoing and destruction, we have been given another year to live and the Almighty Allah has in His immense Mercy, given us yet another opportunity to reform ourselves. ... We should ...

keep the Ominiscience and Omnipresence of Allah always in view and in the light of this great fact devise ways and means to reform the wrong ways of our life, wherever we may find them, and give up the underhand methods, if any, adopted previously by us. "Islam does not encourage an intense love for the material wealth of the world. It does not allow its followers to amass wealth by immoral or illegal means like blackmarketing and smuggling."

The speaker then went on to liken these vices to theft, gambling, fraud and other unsavory practices known in commercial circles. The agricultural policy of the land stood also in need of reform. The real cause for such ethical delinquency, according to the president, was "ignorance of Divine Commandments or our apathy towards religion in general and moral values in particular. By ignoring the dictates of Islam we come to acquire undesirable traits of character and the only course of action needed to regain our lost position in life is to go 'back to Islam,' which means to subordinate our will and desires to the dictates of the Almighty God." Otherwise "we shall ruin our individual and collective prestige for all time, and there will be left no chance of retracing our steps then." To bring about the needed ethical reforms, the speaker advised setting up a Ministry of Religious Affairs.

Aswinpur Sir Syed College East Pakistan). On May 28, 1958 a conference attended by some 50,000 people, including educators, poets, government officials, was held at Aswinpur (P.S. Matlab, Dist. Tippera, East Pakistan) as part of the program for the establishment of Sir Syed College at this place. The allocution made by Alhaj A.T.M. Mateen, secretary of the Reception Committee, contained a statement of the nature and ideals of the proposed College.

The institution will have an Islamic Academy for the study of the Qur'ān, Ḥadīth, Islamic history and philosophy, and research. It will have an Islamic Academy Library, called "Nasaria Library," in honor of Hazrat Maulana Naṣruddin Aḥmad "who was the greatest patron of Islamic teaching in East Pakistan and whose endeavours for education and social welfare remain a heritage with us." The library will house books on Islam and other religions published in Arabic, Persian, Urdu, Bengali and English. The Grand Mosque, attached to the Academy, will hold classes on the Qur'ān and Ḥadith. The College will have a Social Service Training Center for the purpose of training students to go out to the villages to initiate educational programs and schemes for rural improvement. The College will have a small farm designed to give practical instruction in improved methods of agriculture in order to supply more vegetables, milk, fish, eggs and butter to a needy population. The College will have a Dispensary of its own which may also serve the neighboring region.

There will be a program of Civil Defense, sports, athletics. Eventually a college town will grow up around the educational institution. It will serve the student body and will be called Madīnat al-ʿIlm (city of knowledge). The College will be affiliated with Dacca University, some forty miles distant. Degrees will be offered in Arts, Commerce and Science.

The ultimate objective, according to the orator, would be the realization of Islamic ideology, since Pakistan came into existence "with the explicit desire of throwing avenues open for the full development of national heritage, culture and ideology. The movement of Pakistan was not simply a movement for our economic or political freedom only. It was a movement for establishing our ideology as well." He stated his conviction "that the nation which got its beacon of ideology from the sacred cave of Hira and saw the beginning of a movement for the dissemination of knowledge through the Holy guidance of Hazrat Muhammad (Peace be upon him) and the nation which heard the first utterance of ideal education in *Iqrāᶜbismi rabbika-alladhī khalaqa* and illuminated the whole of the world through the torches of knowledge which burnt bright at Granada, Cordova, Baghdad, Nishapur and Al-Azhar Universities can never die out from this earth. Let me declare in unequivocal words that the apathy towards education seen among the descendants of that glorious nation can be dispelled only through the implementation of an ideal system of education suitable for the age. There lies the solution and the way for building up an ideal national character."

The speaker eulogized Sir Syed, in whose honor the new Aswinpur College is named. He said, "Who knows what course our present history would have taken had there been no Sir Syed to push his way forcibly through the obstacles of national and foreign conspirators and keep the torches of modern and ideal education burning."

United Muslim Council of Nigeria. Alhaji A. F. Masha, leader of the United Muslim Council of Nigeria, has called on all Nigerian Muslims to support the Council, a non-political movement out to promote the cause of Islam. Addressing a meeting of Muslims in Lagos, attended by all mainland and Lagos Imams, Alhaji Masha regretted that before the inauguration of the council last year, there was no all-embracing organization which catered for Muslim interests throughout Nigeria in the same way as the Christian Council of Nigeria did for Christian interests.

Alhaji Masha said that the United Muslim Council was out to foster a sense of unity among the Muslims and to spread Islam. Alfa Y. Kofo, secretary of the council, told the meeting that the council had forwarded a letter to the Prime Minister urging that positive steps be taken to safeguard Muslims while on pilgrimage to Mecca.

Tunisia. It is reported that the wife of Mr. Habib Bourguiba, President of the Republic of Tunisia, who is of French origin, has announced her conversion to Islam. She is sixty-nine years old and was married to the president thirty-two years ago. Her name is Mathilde Lorrain. On becoming a Muslim she has adopted the name Mufida. In confirmation of her change of religion she pronounced the Shahadah in the presence of her distinguished husband, her son Habib Bourguiba, Jr., the Grand Mufti of Tunisia, Shaikh Abdul Aziz Bjait, and a group of government leaders.

Mosque in New York Following the example of Washington, D.C., the Muslims of New York City also have initiated plans to construct a

mosque. To this end the Muslims of New York City have been organized with Ambassador Muhammad Kamil Abdul Rahim, representative of the Arab League, as chairman. The group represents some fifteen countries. The site proposed for this first mosque is on Riverside Drive and 72nd Street, overlooking the Hudson River.

SURVEY OF PERIODICALS

Sue Molleson Foster

I. GENERAL

Archeological finds and activities in Israel, 1957-1958. J. Leibovitz. *Christian News from Israel,* Jerusalem. June, 1958. pp. 21-29. Extensive operations have been conducted at Acre and Caesarea as well as at Gath, Nirim, Mezae, etc. Illus.

The Bible in Arabic. Olive La Guardia. *Arab World,* New York. July, 1958. pp. 7-9. A short history of various versions used since the time of Louis XIVth serving to introduce a modern Arabic version to be edited by Dr. Buṭrus ʿAbd-al-Malik and the Rev. J. A. Thompson.

Bibliographie de Louis Massignon. *Mélanges* Louis Massignon. I. Paris. pp. 1-56.

Bibliographie der islamischen einbandkunst. L. Gratz. *Ars Orientalis,* Washington, D.C. 1957. pp. 519-540. Covers 1871-1956.

Carl Brockelmann (1868-1956), Johann Fueck; Jean Cantineau (1899-1956). H. Fleisch; Hans Heinrich Schaeder (1896-1957), Ameljan Pritsak. *Zeitschrift der Morgenländische Gesellschafft,* Wiesbaden. 1958. pp. 1-40. Biographical and critical appreciations of these outstanding scholars.

La conception phonétique des Arabes d'après le Sirr Ṣināʿat al Iʿrābd Ibn Ǧinnī. Henri Fleisch. *Zeitschrift der Morgenländische Gesellschafft,* Wiesbaden. 1958, pp. 74-105.

Developments of the Quarter: comment and chronology. *The Middle East Journal,* Washington, D.C. Summer, 1958. pp. 295-317. Covers April 1-June 30, 1958.

Les études orientales en Yougoslavie. J. Kabrda. *Archiv Orientální,* Praha. 1957. pp. 146-155. Tells of the work of the Oriental Institute at Sarajevo.

Further light on Biblical Hazor. Yigael Yadin. *Christian News from Israel,* Jerusalem. December 1957. pp. 22-31. The third season's diggings allowed five main areas to be excavated and confirmed the fact that Solomon rebuilt both Hazor and Megiddo.

Littérature irakienne d'aujourd'hui. Pierre Rossi. *Orient,* Paris. 1958. pp. 7-22. Translations from the novels of ʿAbd el-Malik, Nūrī, Fuʾād Takarli, and Shākir Khosbak.

Neuarabische texte im dialekt der Stadt Tetuan. Hans-Rudolf Singer. *Zeitschrift der Morgenländische Gesellschafft,* Wiesbaden. 1958. pp. 106-125. Text, with translation and comment.

New Finds of ancient glass in North Africa. Ray Winfield Smith. *Ars Orientalis,* Washington, D.C. 1957. pp. 91-117. The specimens show particularly pre- and early Islamic culture in Tunisia.

Sur l'Araba. Maxime Rodinson. *Journal Asiatique,* Paris. 1958, part 3. pp. 273-280. A study, with copious annotations, of this Turkish term meaning, wagon or chariot, or coach.

What is Nasser like? Richard D. Robinson. *Foreign Policy Bulletin,* New York. October, 1958. pp. 17-19. Suggests a similarity to Kemal Atatürk, whose modernization of Turkey took 25 years, and advises

Western coöperation with ᶜAbd-al Nāṣir and with his efforts for Arab unity.

II. ARABIA

Frankincense and myrrh in ancient South Arabia. George W. Beck. *Journal of the American Oriental Society,* Baltimore. 1958, part 3. pp. 141-152. Describes the economic and political effects of the incense trade and also the land and sea routes used by the traders.

Saudi Arabia: the new statute of the Council of Ministers. *The Middle East Journal,* Washington, D.C. Summer, 1958. pp. 318-323. H. St. Philby's translation and comments on a decree of May 11, 1958 aimed at stabilizing the currency.

Sculpture from Arabia Felix. Berta Segall. *Ars Orientalis,* Washington, D.C. 1957. pp. 83-90. Deals with early (13 B.C.-8 A.D.) relief sculpture from Southern Arabia.

Sovereignty and jurisdiction in Eastern Arabia. J. B. Kelly. *International Affairs,* New York. January, 1958. pp. 16-24. The absence of definite boundaries causes many complications.

The Yemen. *Arab World,* New York. April, 1958. pp. 24-29. The article covers recent conditions.

The Yemen. J. Hayworth-Dunne. *Middle Eastern Affairs,* New York. February, 1958. pp. 50-58. A general coverage plus facts on intrigues in the royal family.

III. HISTORY OF ISLAM

Is there an "Arab civilization"? A. G. Horon. *Commentary,* New York. September, 1958. pp. 411-419. The author presents many arguments to refute any such designation.

Reveil de l'Islam en Union Soviétique. Hélène Carrère d'Encausse. *L'Afrique et l'Asie,* Paris. 1958, part 2. pp. 35-46. The nationalism of Kazakh, under violent persecution for many years, has not been quenched, is burning more brightly, and is expressed by language, culture and religion.

The Russification of the Tadzhik language. *Central Asian Review,* London. 1958. pp. 25-32. Describes the deliberate plotting of the Russians to isolate the Turkik- and Iranian speaking Muslims from their co-religionists in other lands.

IV. QURᵓĀN. TRADITION. THEOLOGY

Beiträge zur geschichte des Islams in Abessinian. H. Plazikowsky-Brauner. *Der Islam,* Berlin. 1957. pp. 310-323. A collection of native legends.

The development of Arabic historiography. Joseph de Somogy. *Journal of Semitic Studies,* Manchester, England. October, 1958. pp. 373-387. Beginning with the biography of the Prophet and the first wars of Islām, the science flourished under the ᶜAbbāsids and continued through the days of Ibn Khaldūn. After him came only annalists.

UNTERSUCHUNGEN ZU GAZZALI'S "KITĀB AT-TAUBA". Susanne Wilzer. *Islam,* Berlin. 1957. pp. 237-304. Considers the ideas on man, deity, sin, reward, punishment and penitence as shown in the *Iḥyā'*.

V. RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL LIFE

ALGÉRIE: NATALITÉ ET POLITIQUE. J. F. *L'Afrique, et l'Asie,* Paris. 1958, part 2. pp. 56-63. Another plea for France to liberalize all phases of life and to do so in a generous manner.

THE BEDOUIN OF THE NEGEV. Eliahu Elath. *Royal Central Asian Journal,* London. April, 1958. pp. 123-140. The Israeli ambassador lectured on Government efforts to stabilize the roving tribes by alloting them land, encouraging agriculture and livestock raising, and introducing medical care and education.

CONTRIBUTION À L'ÉTUDE DU NOMADISME. Le chameau chez les tribus Arbā' du sud Algérois. Amar Dhina. *Mélanges Louis Massignon.* Vol. 1. pp. 417-428. Despite a growing trend toward sheep grazing, the camel still is very important.

LES FINS ÉCONOMIQUES ET SOCIALES DU NATIONALISME ARABE D'AUJOURD'HUI. Marcel Colombe. *Orient,* Paris. 1958. pp. 87-90; 171-180. Comment and translation of publication of the Arab Association.

LES FORCES SOCIALES À L'OEUVRE DANS LE NATIONALISME ÉGYPTIEN. Francis Bertier. *Orient,* Paris. 1958. pp. 73-86. Discusses the Egyptian political usage of the words *Nation and People* during the last thirty years.

IRAQ — WHERE OIL AND WATER MIX. Jean and Franc Shor. THE NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC MAGAZINE, Washington, D.C. October, 1958. pp. 443-489. A finely illustrated, descriptive article.

JEWISH, CHRISTIAN AND MOSLEM STUDENTS AT THE ALBERT EINSTEIN SCHOOL IN BEN SHEMEN. Dina Monet. *Christan News from Israel,* Jerusalem. December, 1957. pp. 36-40. Fostered by "Children of Palestine", an organization of Christians and Jews, the experiment is working well and Arab children are taking an increasingly active part in all school activities.

A KEY TO THE FUTURE OF THE MIDDLE EAST. Eric Johnston. *New York Times Magazine,* New York. October 19, 1958. pp. 21; 78-80. Describes the miracles being caused by water and urges using the power of the Nile, Tigris, Euphrates, Jordan, etc. to the greatest extent.

LEBANESE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT SINCE 1950. William Persen. *The Middle East Journal,* Washington, D.C. Summer, 1958. pp. 277-294. The article was written before the political upheaval in Lebanon and one can only hope that the fine prosperous state of the country can be maintained.

PAKISTAN AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT FINANCE CORPORATION. Mumtaz Mirza. *The Middle East Journal,* Washington, D.C. Summer, 1958. pp. 324-332. The article deals with the Corporation's aid with loans, rural credit, personnel and training since 1952.

PATTERNS AND PROBLEMS OF LOCAL ADMINISTRATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST. W. Hardy Wickwar. *Middle East Journal,* Washington, D.C. Summer, 1958. pp. 249-260. Using the French State and its sub-

divisions as a model since the early 19th century, the countries of the Middle East are finding difficulty in rural administration.

THE PROBLEM OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF NATIONAL CULTURE. N. Dzhandil'din. *Central Asian Review,* London. 1958, part 1. pp. 16-24. Deals mainly with Kazakhstan.

WHAT IT MEANS TO BE ARAB. James Morris. *New York Times Magazine,* New York. November 14, 1958. pp. 22-23; 80-83. Although apparently united as far as outsiders are concerned, the Arab World is torn apart by distrust of its own parts.

VI. POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS

AFGHANISTAN AND THE U.S.S.R. R. K. Ramazani. *The Middle East Journal,* Washington, D.C. Spring, 1958. pp. 144-152. Suffering from economic strangulation caused by political strife with Pakistan over Pushtoonistan, the Afghan Government turned to the Soviets for purposes of trade and Soviet influence is now making the country economically dependent.

DIX ANS DU PAKISTAN. François-Marie Prause. *L'Afrique et l'Asie,* Paris, 1958, part 1. pp. 6-15. The author believes that the nationalistic sentiment of the country and its leanings to the modern West outweigh the reactionary aims of Islam.

LA POLITIQUE ACTUELLE DE L'U.S.S.R. EN IRAN. François Laurent. *Orient,* Paris. 1958. pp. 23-31. Gives detailed consideration to the Soviet's campaign of penetration in Persia, which takes full advantage of that country's present antagonism to American policy there.

THE TURKS AND SOVIET CENTRAL ASIA. Charles W. Hostler. *The Middle East Journal,* Washington, D.C. Summer, 1958. pp. 261-269. Presents a breakdown of population statistics, analyses the numerous ethnic groups and urges the West to familiarize itself, through language study and research, with the aspirations of the millions of Muslims in Russia.

UNITED STATES POLICY AND THE ARABS. Charles Issawi. *Current History,* New York. March, 1958. pp. 136-140. The author advises the United States to make its neutrality clear, but also to show that it will unhesitatingly defend its few basic interests.

WHAT WENT WRONG IN PAKISTAN? Elie Abel. *New York Times Magazine,* New York. November 30, 1958. pp. 16-17; 107-109. "A semblance of democracy is replaced by a semblance of dictatorship".

VII. THE MIDDLE EAST

LA CRISE DU LIBAN. P. Rondot. *L'Afrique et l'Asie,* Paris. 1958, part 3. pp. 45-53. The author shows how the diversity of the Lebanese population causes great difficulty in the formation of a stable government.

CRISE OU APAISEMENT DANS L'ORIENT ARABE? Pierre Rondot. *Études,* Paris. Octobre, 1958. pp. 75-79. An overall view of political conditions since early 1958 when Syria united with Egypt.

THE CRISIS IN THE MIDDLE EAST. *King-Hall News-Letter,* London. July 30, 1958. pp. 1274-1280. Discusses the fateful possibilities caus-

ed by American troops in Lebanon and British forces in Jordan.

Statement on the refugees in the Middle East. Elfan Rees. *Christian News from Israel,* Jerusalem. June, 1958. pp. 36-42. The Advisor for Refugees to the World Council of Churches pleads for the integration of the wretched victims from Palestine and for the cessation of using them as a political toy.

Tendances particularistes et tendances unitaires en Syrie. Pierre Rondot. *Orient,* Paris. 1958. pp. 135-148. The new state is more stable than might be suspected from its sudden formation.

VIII. MISSIONS TO MUSLIMS

Au service de l'Afrique Chrétienne. André Rétif. *Études,* Paris. Octobre, 1958. pp. 32-42. A plea for dedicated, patient, humble missioners ready to obey their African superiors and to give them the best aid possible. Statistics.

Christian education in Israel. J. L. Benor. *Christian News from Israel,* Jerusalem. June, 1958. pp. 39-42. The education is predominantly Roman Catholic with 37 schools and 7,930 pupils; next Protestant with 9 schools and 1,307 pupils; then Orthodox with 3 schools and 181 pupils.

Jews, Christians and Moslems. James Kritzeck. *The Bridge,* New York. 1958-1959. pp. 84-121. Describes the constant inter-penetration of all these great religions by the others since earliest times to the present.